

HISTORY ———
OF THE
——— MONUMENT

BY

CHARLES WELCH, F.S.A.,

Librarian to the Corporation of London.


WITH ILLUSTRATIONS, AND A MAP OF OLD LONDON.

—————
PRICE SIXPENCE.
—————

PUBLISHED UNDER THE AUTHORITY OF THE CITY
LANDS COMMITTEE OF THE CORPORATION
OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

—————
LONDON.
—————

1893.



Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2017 with funding from
Getty Research Institute



Engraved by Felix O. Schwen Historical Engraver to His Majesty

Sir. Wren

PORTRAIT OF SIR CHRISTOPHER WREN, FROM THE ORIGINAL BY KNELLER,
BELONGING TO THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

HISTORY

OF THE

MONUMENT

WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE
GREAT FIRE OF LONDON,
WHICH IT COMMEMORATES.

BY

CHARLES WELCH, F.S.A.,
Librarian to the Corporation of London.



PREPARED AND PRINTED UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE
CITY LANDS COMMITTEE OF THE CORPORATION
OF THE CITY OF LONDON.

— — —
LONDON.

—
1893.

Printed by
BLADES, EAST & BLADES,
23, Abchurch Lane, E.C.



P R E F A C E .



THE following pages, prepared at the request of the Committee for Letting the City's Lands, aim at presenting a pictorial and descriptive account of the Monument, and a record of its historical and literary associations. Where possible, original authorities have in all cases been consulted, and the text of the inscriptions has been verified from the Monument itself. A concise description of the Great Fire has been added, and it is hoped that the sources of information indicated in the list of authorities and bibliography will furnish the reader with an adequate supplement to this account. Properly to write the history of the Great Fire would be a task far beyond the purpose of the present publication.

I have to acknowledge, with many thanks, the kind assistance afforded in various ways by the Trustees of the British Museum, through Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, (Principal Librarian); the Proprietors of the *Graphic*, through Mr. Carmichael Thomas; the Council of the Art Union of London; Mr. John Bleaden; my colleague, Mr. E. M. Borrajo; Dr. R. R. Sharpe, Records' Clerk at Guildhall; Mr. T. W. Haddon, M.A., who aided in revising the translations of the inscriptions, and translated that written by Wren; and Mr. F. Lange, who gave material help in the preparation of the bibliography.





CONTENTS.

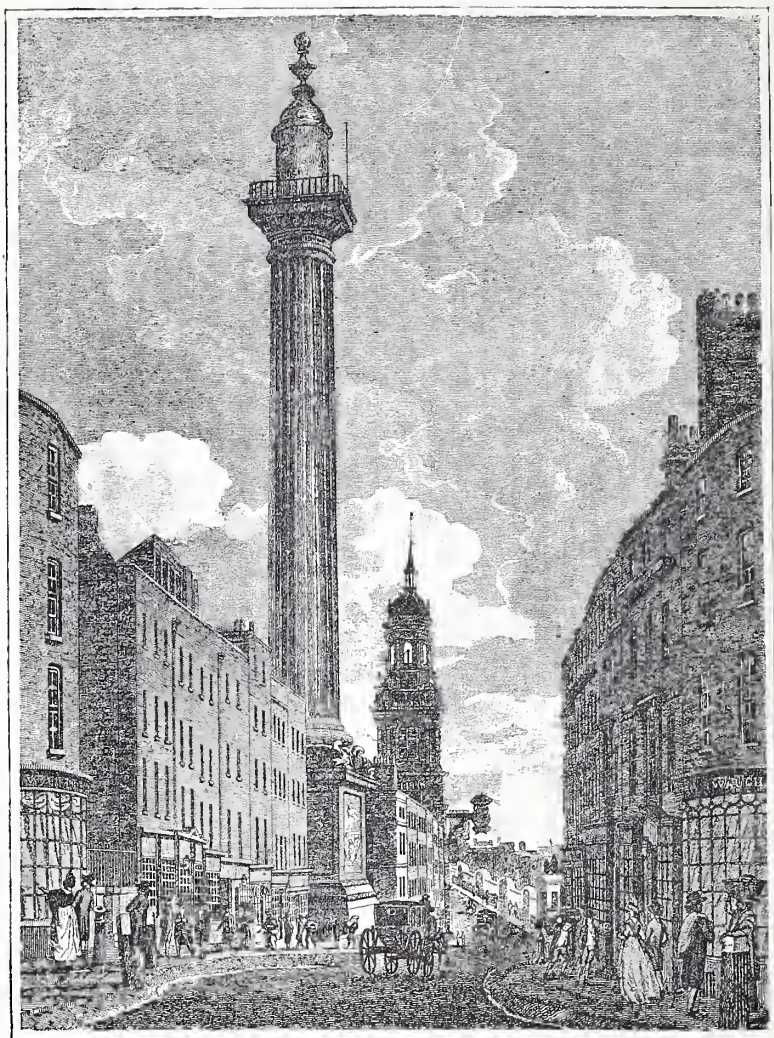


	PAGE.
TITLE-PAGE, PREFACE, ETC. - - - - -	I-12
Chap. I. DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION - - - - -	13
„ II. THE SCULPTURE AND INSCRIPTIONS ON THE PEDESTAL - - - - -	25
„ III. HISTORICAL INCIDENTS AND LITERARY NOTICES-	43
„ IV. A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON - - - - -	57
„ V. VIEWS, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND AUTHORITIES - -	89
INDEX - - - - -	117



LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS.

	PAGE.
Portrait of Sir Christopher Wren - - -	<i>Frontispiece.</i>
View of the Monument and the Roadway of Old London Bridge in the year 1807 - - - - -	13
Medal of Sir Christopher Wren - - - -	24
The Sculpture on the west side of the Pedestal - - -	25
Portrait of Caius Gabriel Cibber - - - -	27
The Staircase, from below - - - - -	42
The Balcony or "Cage" - - - - -	47
The Staircase, from above - - - - -	53
View of London before and after the Great Fire, with Wren's Plan for re-building the City - - - -	57
View of the Monument and Fish Street Hill about the year 1720 - - - - -	89
Medal struck to commemorate the Great Fire - - -	90
Fish Street Hill, as seen from the Monument - - -	120



VIEW OF THE MONUMENT, THE CHURCH OF ST. MAGNUS, AND THE
ROADWAY OF OLD LONDON BRIDGE IN THE YEAR 1809.

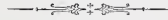
From an Old Print, preserved in the Guildhall Library,



HISTORY

OF THE

MONUMENT OF LONDON.



CHAPTER I.

DESIGN AND CONSTRUCTION.



THIS famous pillar, built to commemorate the Great Fire of London, stands in the small open square known as Monument Yard, on the east side of Fish Street Hill. The thoroughfare is described by Stow as the northern continuation of Bridge Street, "commonly called (of the Fishmarket) New Fishstreete," where, he says, "be fishmongers and fayre tauerns; on Fishstreete hill and Grassestreete, men of diuers trades, grocers and habardashers."* Here, in ancient times, stood the famous market-place of which Eastcheap still denotes the situation, but which also probably extended from Billingsgate and the Bridge at one end to Leadenhall at the other. Fish Street Hill, being in the line of approach to old London Bridge, formed the principal, and until the building of the first Blackfriars

* Survey of London, ed. 1598, p. 167.

Bridge in 1769 the only, highway between London and Southwark. Since the removal of London Bridge to the westward, the Monument, standing back from the main thoroughfare, has lost much of its former prominence. Very recently, however, it has given its name to the neighbouring station of the Metropolitan District Railway. Monument Yard occupies the site of the church and churchyard of St. Margaret, New Fish Street. The parish was united with that of St. Magnus after the Great Fire of London, and the church of St. Margaret, which Stow describes as "a proper church but without monuments," was not re-built.

In 1667 an Act of Parliament was passed (19 Charles II, chapter iii), "for re-building the City of London," the 29th section of which provides as follows:—* "And the better to preserve the memory of this dreadful Visitation, Be it further enacted, That a Columne or Pillar of Brase or Stone be erected on or as neere unto the place where the said Fire soe unhappily began as conveniently may be, in perpetuall Remembrance thereof, with such Inscription thereon, as hereafter by the Maior and Court of Aldermen in that behalfe be directed." For carrying out the purposes of this Act the Corporation were empowered by a subsequent section to levy a duty of twelve pence a ton upon all coals brought into the Port of London. The construction of the column was confided to the masterly hands of Sir Christopher Wren, who prepared several designs.† The selection and approval of his final design was made only after the careful consideration of several alternative plans which he had submitted.

* In the folio edition of the Statutes, published by the Record Commission (1819, Vol. v, p. 609), this section is described as 18 & 19 Charles II, c. viii, sec. 27.

† Many of Sir Christopher Wren's designs (and among them some relating to the Monument) are preserved in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford, of which College he was a Fellow.

Wren at first proposed a more characteristic pillar,* with sculptured flames of gilt bronze issuing from the loopholes of the shaft, and a phœnix on the summit rising from her ashes, also of gilt bronze. This, on further consideration, he found unsuitable, and then designed a fluted column, surmounted by a statue of Charles II 15 feet high. The statue, however, proved to be too costly, and the present vase of flames was eventually adopted.

The following letter of Sir Christopher Wren, printed by Elmes, in his biography of the great architect,† fully describes his views as to the most suitable ornament for the summit of the Monument:—"In pursuance of an order of the Committee for City Lands, I doe herewith offer the severall designes which some monthes since I shewed his Majestie, for his approbation; who was then pleased to thinke a large ball of metall gilt would be most agreeable, in regard it would give an ornament to the town, at a very great distance; not that his Majestie disliked a statue; and if any proposal of this sort be more acceptable to the city, I shall most readily represent the same to his Majestie. I cannot but comend a large statue, as carrying much dignitie with it; and that which would be more vallueable in the eyes of forreiners and strangers. It hath been proposed to cast such a one in brasse, of twelve foot high, for £1,000. I hope (if it be allowed) wee may find those who will cast a figure for that money, of fifteen foot high, which will suit the greatnesse of the pillar, and is (as I take it) the largest at this day extant; and this would undoubtedly bee the noblest finishing that can be found answerable to soe goodly a worke, in all men's judgments. A ball of copper, nine foot diameter, cast in severall pieces,

* Wren's Designs, Vol. ii, No. 73, All Souls College. There is an engraving by Hulsbergh of this design.

† 4to. London, 1823, pp. 287-8.

with the flames and gilt, may well be done, with the iron worke and fixing, for £350; and this will be most acceptable of any thing inferior to a statue, by reason of the good appearance at distance, and because one may goe up into it, and upon occasion use it for fireworks. A phœnix was at first thought of, and is the ornament in the wooden modell of the pillar, which I caused to be made before it was begun; but, upon second thoughtes, I rejected it, because it will be costly, not easily understood at that highth, and worse understood at a distance; and lastly, dangerous by reason of the sayle the spread winges will carry in the winde. The balcony must be made of substantiall well forged worke there being noe need, at that distance, of filed worke; and I suppose (for I cannot exactly guesse the weight), it may be well performed and fixed, according to a good designe, for four-score and ten poundes, including painting. All which is humbly submitted to your consideration.

July 28, 1675."

(Signed) "CHRISTOPHER WREN.

The Monument, as ultimately carried out, is of the Doric order, and constructed of Portland stone. It consists of a pedestal about 21 feet square and 40 feet high, with a plinth of 28 feet square, and a fluted shaft 120 feet high and 15 feet in diameter. On the abacus is a balcony encompassing a moulded cylinder, which supports a flaming vase of gilt bronze, indicating its commemoration of the Great Fire. Defoe quaintly describes the Monument as "built in the form of a candle," the top making a "handsome gilt flame like that of a candle."* Its entire height is 202 feet, stated in the inscription on its north side to be equal to its distance eastward from the house where the fire broke out, at the King's baker's in Pudding Lane.

* Timbs' *Curiosities of London*, 1868, p. 570.

LIST OF MEMORIAL COLUMNS.

From the "Dictionary of Architecture," Vol. V., M., p. 67.

Date. A.D.	Name and Architect.	City.	Order.	Feet high to top of capital.	Total Height.	Feet Diameter.
118	Trajan, by Apollodorus	Rome	Doric	115	132	12
162	Antoninus Pius	Rome	Doric	123	148	13
296	Diocletian or Pompey's Pillar	Alexandria	Corinthian	67'3 ins.	94'4 ins.	9'43 ins.
4th cent.	Jovian... ..	Ancyra	Pers. Byz... ..	31'67	39'35	3'8 ins.
668	Phocas	Rome	Corinthian	—	54 or 58	4'4 ins.
1671	Monument, by Sir C. Wren... ..	London	Doric	172	202	15
1806-10	{ C. dédiée à la Grande Armée, or of Napoleon, afterwards C. Vendôme, by Lepere and Gondouin }	Paris	Doric	115	138 Fr. ft.	12
1814-16	Lord Hill	Shrewsbury	Doric	116'6 ins.	133'6 ins.	15'0
1832	Duke of York, by Benjamin Wyatt	London	Doric	109	138	11
1831-40	C. of July, by Alavoine and Duc	Paris	(Semi) Corinthian.	132'7 ins.	163'4 ins.	11'9 in.
1839	Nelson, by W. Railton	London	Corinthian	138	163	10'5 ins
1831-34	Alexander I, by de Montferrand	St. Petersburg	Doric	{ 84 red granite, 121'5 ins. monolith.	152.6 in.	11'5
1804	{ C. de la Grande Armée, by Labarre and Henri }	Boulogne-sur-Mer.	(Semi) Doric	141'5 ins.	175'9 ins.	16'5 ins.

As will be seen from the preceding table of the relative heights of the chief ancient and modern columns, the Monument is loftier than the pillars of Trajan and Antoninus at Rome; and it is not only the loftiest but also the finest isolated stone column in the world. Within is a staircase of 345 black marble steps, opening to the balcony, whence the view of the Metropolis, especially of the Port of London, is very interesting. In one respect it is finer than that from the height of St. Paul's Cathedral, since it includes a view of the Cathedral's dome.

The work of construction occupied six years, namely, from 1671 to 1677,* much hindrance being caused by the difficulty of getting a sufficient quantity of Portland stone of the necessary dimensions. This occasioned a proclamation from the King, dated Whitehall, 4th May, 1669, forbidding any person to transport stone from the isle of Portland without leave from Dr. Christopher Wren, the Surveyor General.† The emblematical sculpture on the west side was executed by Caius Gabriel Cibber, the sculptor, and the four dragons at the base were the work of Edward Pierce, jun., a sculptor and architect who was frequently employed by Wren.‡ A model, scale one-eighth of an inch to a foot, of the scaffolding used in building the Monument, is preserved. It formerly belonged to Sir William Chambers, and was presented by Mr. Heathcote Russell, C.E., to the late Sir Isambard Brunel, who left it to his son, Mr. J. K. Brunel. The ladders were of the rude construction of Wren's time, two uprights with nailed

* 1671 ad 1677. *Structuram columnæ colosseæ speculatoriæ Londinensis, ex ordine Dorico, inchoavit et perfecit.* Wren MS., quoted by Elmes, p. 286n.

† Large quantities of Portland stone were also wanted by Wren at this time for re-building St. Paul's Cathedral.

‡ See an account of him, with portrait, in Walpole's *Anecdotes of Painting* (Works, Vol. iii, p. 261). He received £50 for each dragon.

treads or rounds on the face (Timbs' Curiosities of London, 1868, p. 579 n.).

In a manuscript preserved in the Guildhall Library (MS. 184, fol. 41), which contains particulars of expenses incurred by the Corporation in re-erecting public buildings after the Fire of London, is the following account of sums expended in the construction of the Monument:—

THE PILLAR ON NEW FISH STREET HILL IN MEMORIALL OF
THE FIRE. OUT OF THE COLE MONEY.

	li	s.	d.
1671. Aprill 8. Paid Joshua Marshall Mason by Order dated 20 th March 1670 on Accom ^t for erecting the Pillar neer the place where the ffire began - - - - -	300	00	00
July 7 [to] Octob ^r 24. [Five other like payments to him amounting to] - - - - -	1,300	00	00
Nov ^r 11. Paid Nicholas Duncomb by Order dated 3 ^d Novem ^r 1671 for carrying away rubbish from the ffounda ^c on of the said Pillar	73	08	00
Decem ^r 15 [to] ffeb ^r 24, 1672. Paid Joshua Marshall [at ten different times] - - - - -	2,700	00	00
1673. June 28. Paid Gabriell Cibber Sculpter C ^h by Ord ^r 26 th June 1673 for carving the Hieroglifick ffigures on the ffront of the publicke Collume on New ffish street hill -	100	00	00
July 9. Paid Mr. Marshall by Order dated 6 th July 1673 - - - - -	500	00	00
Octob ^r 9. Paid Gabriell Cibber Sculpter Mason by Order dated 7 th Octob ^r 1673 on Accom ^t for carveing the hieroglyphick ffigures on the Columbe - - - - -	50	00	00

	li	s.	d.
25. Paid him more by Ord ^r dated 22 Octobr ^r 1673 - - - - -	100	00	00
31. Paid Tho: Woodhouse Carpenter by Ord ^r 16 th Aprill 1673 - - - - -	35	00	00
Novem ^r 17. Paid Joshua Marshall Mason by Ord ^r 3 ^d Octobr ^r 1673 - - - - -	1,000	00	00
Decem ^r 20. Paid Gabriell Cibber Sculpter Mason by Ord ^r 18 th Decemb ^r 1673 - - - - -	50	00	00
ffeb ^r 10. Paid Joshua Marshall Mason by Ord ^r 18 th Decemb ^r 1673 - - - - -	1,000	00	00
1674. April 13. Paid Gabriell Cibber more by Order dated 9 th April 1674 - - - - -	100	00	00
April 28 [to] Septem ^r 26. Paid Mr. Joshua Marshall more [at three different times] -	3,000	00	00
Octobr ^r 14. Paid Gabriell Cibber more by Order dated 16 th Septemb ^r 1674 - - - - -	100	00	00
Decem ^r 23. Paid Joshua Marshall Mason by Ord ^r 21 st Octobr ^r 1674 - - - - -	500	00	00
23. Paid Gabriell Cibber more by Ord ^r 16 th Decem ^r 1674 - - - - -	50	00	00
1675. Aug. 17. Paid Joshua Marshall Mason by Order 28 th July 1675 - - - - -	500	00	00
21. Paid Tho: Hodgeskins Smith by Ord ^r dated 29 th July 1675 - - - - -	100	00	00
Sept. 9. Paid M ^r Cibber more by Ord ^r dated 28 th July 1675 - - - - -	50	00	00
Dec. 2. Paid Tho: Western for W ^m French, Blacksmith by Order dated 10 th Novem ^r 1675 on Accom ^{ts} for a Bell Cony [balcony] to be sett up at the topp of the Pillar - - - - -	100	00	00

	li	s.	d.
23. Paid Anthony Tanner Bricklayer by Order dated 13th of Decem ^r 1675 in full for worke at the Colume - - - - -	6	18	00
1676. Aprill 13. Paid Robert Bird Copper-smith by Order dated 12 th of Aprill 1676 on Accom ^t for the Copper urne on the Pillar -	128	6	00
June 19. Paid W ^m ffrench by Order dated 7th June 1676 for extraordinary charges about makeing and setting up the Belcony - -	4	00	00
30. Paid unto Joshua Marshall Mason by Order dated 10 th Novem ^r 1675 v ^{cu} on Accom ^t of the Pillar - - - - -	500	00	00
	<hr/>		
	12,347	12	00
	1,102	19	09
	<hr/>		
	13,450	11	09
	<hr/> <hr/>		

The exact quantity of Portland stone contained in the column, as estimated by the architect, is as follows (*Parentalia*, p. 323):—

	Feet.
The solidity of the whole fabrick, from the bottom of the lowest plinth to the black marble under the urn, the cylinder of the staircase only deducted, and the stone for the carving not allowed for, is - - - -	37,396
The black marble that covers the capital - - - -	287
” ” ” ” ” the lanthorn - - - -	64

	Feet.
From this solidity deduct—	
For 8 great niches - - - - -	281
For 3 doors and passages - - - - -	289
For 3 sides reveyled - - - - -	486
For rough block - - - - -	1,499
For rubble work - - - - -	7,185
	<hr/>
In all - - -	9,740
The remainder is	27,656
To this add, upon the account of the carvings in the front, the 4 great dragons and festoons - - -	540
	<hr/>
There remains of solid Portland stone - - -	28,196
	<hr/> <hr/>

Sir Christopher Wren, whose industry and versatility of genius are conspicuous in the design and construction of this work, was the son of a Wiltshire clergyman, and was born at East Knoyle in 1631. He was sent to Wadham College, Oxford, in 1646, took his degree in 1650, and was elected a fellow of All Souls in 1653. While at Oxford, Wren distinguished himself in geometry and applied mathematics. He became professor of astronomy at Gresham College in 1657, and in 1660 was elected Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford. He was also one of the twelve founders of the Royal Society, whose first meeting was held in a room at Gresham College on the 28th November, 1660. Wren became president of the Society in 1681, and his portrait, by Kneller (a copy of which is given in the frontispiece), is preserved in the rooms of the Society at Burlington House. He was knighted by Charles II in 1673.

It is, however, as an architect that Wren is best known, and the Great Fire of London, by its destruction of the Cathedral and nearly all the City, gave Wren a scope for his talent such as probably no architect has ever had to the same extent. As a scientific engineer and practical architect, Wren was perhaps more remarkable than as an artistic designer. The construction of the wooden external dome of St. Paul's Cathedral, and the support of the stone lantern by an inner dome of brick-work, quite independent of the external or internal dome, are wonderful examples of Wren's constructive ingenuity. After the destruction of the City of London by the Great Fire, Wren prepared a scheme for laying out the whole city (as shown in the illustration at page 57) on a new plan, with a series of wide streets radiating from a central space. Difficulties arising from the various ownerships of the ground unfortunately prevented the accomplishment of this excellent scheme.

Among Wren's city churches, the most notable are St. Michael's Cornhill, St. Bride's, St. Mary-le-Bow (remarkable for its graceful spire), and St. Stephen's Walbrook, which has a plain exterior but a very elaborate and graceful interior. In the design of his spires, Wren showed much taste, and great power of invention. He was also very judicious in his method of expending the little money at his command ; he did not fritter it away in an attempt to make the whole of a building remarkable, but devoted it chiefly to one part or feature, such as a spire, or a rich scheme of internal decoration. He was a member of Parliament for many years, representing Plumpton from 1665, Windsor from 1689, and Weymouth from 1700. He occupied the post of Surveyor of the Royal Works for fifty years, but

by a shameful cabal was dismissed from this office a few years before his death.

He died in 1723, and is buried under the choir of St. Paul's. On a tablet, over the inner north doorway, is the well-known epitaph, penned by Robert Milne, the architect of the first Blackfriars Bridge, ending with the words :—

SI MONUMENTUM REQUIRIS CIRCUMSPICE.



MEDAL STRUCK BY THE ART UNION OF LONDON.

A Representation of the Carved Work on the West side of the Pedestal of the Monument of London



The Explanation of the figures in the Pedestal.

A. King Charles the Second.
 B. The City of London languishing
 C. Time, relieving the City.

D. Fortitude
 E. Victory
 F. Justice

G. Liberty
 H. Architecture
 I. Natural Sciences

K. Expedition in Manual Arts
 L. Citizens
 M. Emry

N. Peace
 O. Plenty.
 P. Industry.

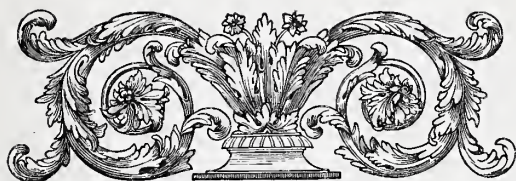
The Inscription on the Pillar

This Pillar was set up, in perpetual Remembrance of the dreadfull Burning of this Ancient City, begun & carried on by Treachery & Malice of y^e Popish Faction in y^e beginning of September. in y^e Year of our Lord, 1666. in order to y^e carrying on y^e horrid Plot for Extirpating y^e Protestant Religion, & y^e old English Liberty, & Introducing Popery & Slavery This Fire consumed 89 Churches, the City Gates, many Hospitals, Schools, Libraries, a vast number of Stately Edifices, 13200 Houses, & 400 Streets this Pillar was begun in 1701 & finish'd 1717.

Sold by John Bowles opposite to Sashes Market & at Mr. Mercurys Station Cheap-side

VIEW OF CIBBER'S SCULPTURE ON THE WEST FRONT OF THE MONUMENT.

From an Old Print preserved in the Guildhall Library.



CHAPTER II.

THE SCULPTURE AND INSCRIPTIONS ON THE PEDESTAL.

IN the west side of the pedestal, facing Fish Street Hill, is a basso-relievo by Caius Gabriel Cibber, the sculptor, which represents the King affording protection to the desolate city, and freedom to its rebuilders and inhabitants. The design is allegorical, and displays a female figure representing the City of London, sitting on ruins in a languishing condition, her head hanging down, her hair dishevelled, and her left hand lying carelessly upon her sword. Behind is Time, with his wings and bald head, gradually raising her up. Another female figure by her side gently touches her with one hand, and, with a winged sceptre in the other, points upwards to two goddesses sitting in the clouds, one with a cornucopiæ, denoting Plenty, the other having a palm branch in her left hand, signifying Peace. At her feet is a bee-hive, denoting Industry, by which the greatest difficulties can be surmounted. Underneath the figure of London, in the midst of the ruins, is a dragon supporting a shield bearing the arms of the City of London. Over her head are shown houses burning, and flames breaking out through the windows. Behind Time is a group of citizens raising their hands in encouragement.

Opposite these figures is a pavement of stone raised with three or four steps, on which stands King Charles II in a Roman costume, with a baton in his right hand, and a laurel wreath on his head, coming towards the City of London, and commanding three of his attendants to descend to her relief. The first represents Science, with a winged head and a circle of naked boys dancing on it, and in her hand a figure of Nature with her numerous breasts ready to give assistance to all. The second is Architecture holding in the right hand a plan, and in the left a square and compasses. The third figure is Liberty,* waving a cap in the air.

Behind the King stands his brother, the Duke of York, holding in one hand a garland to crown the rising city, and in the other an uplifted sword for her defence. The two figures behind are Justice with a coronet, and Fortitude with a reined lion. Above these figures are represented houses in building, and labourers at work. Lastly, underneath the stone pavement on which the King stands, is a figure of Envy gnawing a heart and emitting pestiferous fumes from her envenomed mouth.

The general effect of the design has not been considered successful, but some of its details are excellent. The scaffolding, ladders and hodmen are well presented, the dresses of the labourers being depicted with more fidelity than those of the monarch and his brother.

Caius Gabriel Cibber or Cibert, who designed and executed the work above described, was born in Flensburg in Holstein, in 1630. He was the son of the King of Denmark's cabinet-maker, who, on discovering in the youth talent for modelling, sent him to Rome and supported him there in the prosecution of his studies. He afterwards became acquainted with John Stone, the sculptor,

* For an explanation of this figure, see p. 85.

who gave him employment in England for some years. Eventually he was appointed carver to the King's closet, a place of no great emolument, as he does not appear to have executed much work for his royal patron. Among Cibber's sculptured works were the statues of the kings placed around the old Royal



CAIUS GABRIEL CIBBER, *Sculptor.*

Exchange, and the fine figures of Melancholy and Raving Madness which were originally set up over the gate in Bethlehem Hospital at Moorfields in 1680. These two figures are now preserved in the Guildhall Museum; they are said to be portraits of patients in the Hospital, one of whom had been a porter to Oliver Cromwell. Cibber's other work included statuary executed

for the Duke of Devonshire at Chatsworth, a large phoenix placed above the southern door of St. Paul's Cathedral, a large vase at Hampton Court, and the fountain formerly in Soho square. He died in London in 1700, and was the father of Colley Cibber, the actor and dramatist.*

The three remaining sides of the pedestal are covered with Latin inscriptions. The inscription on the north side records the city's destruction, that on the south its restoration, and that on the east the years and mayoralities in which the erection of the Monument was commenced, continued, and finished.

At a Court of Aldermen, held on the 4th October, 1677, Dr. Gale, master of St. Paul's School, afterwards Dean of York, was desired to consider of and devise a fitting inscription for the new pillar, and to consult with Sir Christopher Wren and Mr. Hooke thereon.† On the 22nd of the same month, Dr. Gale's inscription was presented to the Court, and having been approved by his Majesty, was ordered to be inscribed forthwith.‡ Three days later, the Court of Aldermen, "taking into their consideration the ingenious inscriptions prepared and presented unto this Court by Dr. Gale, for the new Pillar on ffish-street Hill, doth order that Mr. Chamberlain doe deliver unto Mr. Lane, Comptroller of the Chamber, ten guineys to be placed on account of the cole-duty, and hee to lay out the same in a handsome piece of plate to be presented to the said Dr. Gale as a loveing remembrance from this Court."§ The following are the inscriptions, with a translation of each:—

* Dictionary of National Biography, 1887, Vol. x, p. 352.

† Repertory 82, f. 268b.

‡ Ib., f. 283b.

§ Ib., f. 291

INSCRIPTION ON THE NORTH SIDE.



ANNO CHRISTI CIO DCLXVI DIE IV NONAS SEPTEMBRIS
 HINC IN ORIENTEM PEDVM CCII INTERVALLO QVÆ EST
 HVIVSCE COLVMNÆ ALTITVDO ERVPIT DE MEDIA NOCTE
 INCENDIVM QVOD VENTO SPIRANTE HAVSIT ETIAM LONGINQVA
 ET PARTES PER OMNES POPVLAVNDVM FEREBATVR
 CVM IMPETV ET FRAGORE INCREDIBILI XXCIX TEMPLA
 PORTAS PRÆTORIVM ÆDES PVBLICAS PTOCHOTROPHIA
 SCHOLAS BIBLIOTHECAS INSVLARVM MAGNVM NVMERVM
 DOMVVM CCIIO OO OO OO CC * VICOS CD ABSVMP SIT
 DE XXVI REGIONIBVS XV FVNDITVS DELEVIT ALIAS VIII LACERAS
 ET SEMIVSTAS RELIQVIT VRBIS CADAVER AD CDXXXVI IVGERA
 HINC AB ARCE PER TAMISIS RIPAM AD TEMPLARIORVM FANVM
 ILLINC AB EVRO AQVILONALI PORTA SECVNDVM MVROS
 AD FOSSÆ FLETANÆ CAPVT PORREXIT ADVERSVS OPES CIVIVM
 ET FORTVNAS INFESTVM ERGA VITAS INNOCVVM VT PER OMNIA
 REFERRET SVPREMAM ILLAM MVNDI EXVSTIONEM
 VELOX CLADES FVIT EXIGVVM TEMPVS EANDEM VIDIT
 CIVITATEM FLORENTISSIMAM ET NVLLAM
 TERTIO DIE CVM IAM PLANE EVICERAT HVMANA CONSILIA
 ET SVBSIDIA OMNIA CÆLITVS VT PAR EST CREDERE
 IVSSVS STETIT FATALIS IGNIS ET QVAQVAVERSVM ELANGVIT
 † [SED FVROR PAPISTICVS, QVI TAM DIRA PATRAVIT NONDVM
 RESTINGVITVR.]

* These curious figures are to be explained as follows:—CCIOO = 10,000;
 OO OO OO is the sculptor's mistake for CIO CIO CIO, making 3,000 more;
 and CC = 200, making the total of 13,200. This total agrees with the official
 estimate of the number of houses destroyed, see p. 79.

† These last words were added in 1681, see *post*, pp. 38-40.

TRANSLATION.

In the year of Christ 1666, on the 2nd of September, at a distance eastward from this place of 202 feet, which is the height of this column, a fire broke out in the dead of night, which, the wind blowing, devoured even distant buildings, and rushed devastating through every quarter with astonishing swiftness and noise. It consumed 89 churches, gates, the Guildhall, public edifices, hospitals, schools, libraries, a great number of blocks (?) of buildings, 13,200 houses, 400 streets. Of the 26 wards, it utterly destroyed 15 and left 8 mutilated and half burnt. The ashes of the city, covering as many as 436 acres, extended on one side from the Tower along the bank of the Thames to the church of the Templars, on the other side from the north-east gate along the walls to the head of Fleet-ditch. Merciless to the wealth and estates of the citizens it was harmless to their lives,* so as throughout to remind us of the final destruction of the world by fire. The havoc was swift. A little space of time saw the same city most prosperous and no longer in being. On the third day, when it had now altogether vanquished all human counsel and resource, at the bidding, as we may well believe, of heaven, the fatal fire stayed its course and everywhere died out. † [But Popish frenzy, which wrought such horrors, is not yet quenched].

* Burnett, in his "History of his own Times" (1833, Vol. i, p. 426), states as a remarkable fact that amidst all this destruction and public confusion, no person was known either to have been burnt or trodden to death in the streets. Maitland says, however, that six persons lost their lives in the Fire (History of London, Vol. i, p. 437).

† These last words were added in 1681, see *post*, pp. 38-40.

INSCRIPTION ON THE SOUTH SIDE.

CAROLVS II C. MART. F. MAG. BRIT. FRAN. ET HIB. REX, FID. D.
 PRINCEPS CLEMENTISSIMVS MISERATVS LVCTVOSAM RERVM
 FACIEM PLVRIMA FVMANTIBVS IAM TVM RVINIS IN SOLATIVM
 CIVIVM ET VRBIS SVÆ ORNAMENTVM PROVIDIT TRIBVTVM
 REMISIT PRECES ORDINIS ET POPVLI LONDINENSIS RETVLIT
 AD REGNI SENATVM QVI CONTINVO DECREVIT VTI PVBLICA
 OPERA PECVNIA PVBLICA EX VECTIGALI CARBONIS FOSSILIS
 ORIVNDA IN MELIOREM FORMAM RESTITVERENTVR VTIQVE ÆDES
 SACRÆ ET D PAVLI TEMPLVM A FVNDAMENTIS OMNI MAGNI-
 FICENTIA EXTRVERENTVR PONTES PORTÆ CARCERES NOVI
 FIERENT EMVNDARENTVR ALVEI VICI AD REGVLAM RESPON-
 DERENT CLIVI COMPLANARENTVR APERIRENTVR ANGIPOR-
 TVS FORA ET MACELLA IN AREAS SEPOSITAS ELIMINAREN-
 TVR CENSUIT ETIAM VTI SINGVLÆ DOMVS MVRIS INTER-
 GERINIS CONCLVDERENTVR VNIVERSÆ IN FRONTEM PARI
 ALTITVDINE CONSVRGERENT OMNES QVE PARIETES SAXO
 QVADRATO AVT COCTO LATERE SOLIDARENTVR VTIQVE
 NEMINI LICERET VLTRA SEPTENNIVM ÆDIFICANDO IMMO-
 RARI AD HÆC LITES DE TERMINIS ORITVRAS LEGE LATA
 PRÆSCIDIT* ADIECIT QVOQVE SVPPPLICATIONES ANNVAS ET
 AD ÆTERNAM POSTERORVM MEMORIAM H. C. P. C.
 FESTINATVR VNDIQVE RESVRGIT LONDINVM MAIORI CELERITA-
 TE AN SPLENDORE INCERTVM VNVM TRIENNIVM ABSOLVIT
 QVOD SÆCULI OPVS CREDEBATVR.

* On the Monument this word appears as PPRÆSCIDIT, obviously the sculptor's mistake.

TRANSLATION.

Charles the Second, son of Charles the Martyr, king of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, a most gracious prince, commiserating the deplorable state of things, whilst the ruins were yet smoking, provided for the comfort of his citizens, and the ornament of his city; remitted their taxes, and referred the petitions of the magistrates and inhabitants of London to the Parliament; who immediately passed an act, that public works should be restored to greater beauty, with public money, to be raised by an imposition on coals; that churches, and the cathedral of St. Paul's, should be re-built from their foundations, with all magnificence; that the bridges, gates, and prisons should be new made, the sewers cleansed, the streets made straight and regular, such as were steep levelled, and those too narrow made wider, markets and shambles removed to separate places. They also enacted, that every house should be built with party-walls, and all raised of an equal height in front, and that all house walls should be strengthened with stone or brick; and that no man should delay building beyond the space of seven years. Furthermore, he procured an Act to settle beforehand the suits which should arise respecting boundaries,* he also established an annual service of intercession,† and caused this column to be erected as a perpetual memorial to posterity. Haste is seen everywhere, London rises again, whether with greater speed or greater magnificence is doubtful, three short years complete that which was considered the work of an age.

* See pp. 80-81.

† See pp. 81-83.

INSCRIPTION ON THE EAST SIDE.



INCEPTA

RICHARDO FORD EQUITE:
 PRÆTORE LOND: A.D. MDCLXXI
 PERDVCTA ALTIVS
 GEORGIO WATERMAN EQ: PV
 ROBERTO HANSON EQ: PV
 GVLIELMO HOOKER EQ: PV
 ROBERTO VINER EQ: PV
 JOSEPHO SHELDON EQ: PV

PERFECTA

THOMA DAVIES EQ: PRÆ: VRB:
 ANNO DNI. MDCLXXVII

TRANSLATION.

[This Pillar was] begun, Sir Richard Ford, knt., being Lord Mayor of London, in the year 1671; carried higher in the Mayoralties of Sir George Waterman, knt., Sir Robert Hanson, knt., Sir William Hooker, knt., Sir Robert Viner, knt., and Sir Joseph Sheldon, knt.; and finished in the Mayoralty of Sir Thomas Davies, in the year of the Lord 1677.



There appears to have been a sort of competition for the principal inscription. Dr. Adam Littleton, author of the well-known Latin dictionary, prepared an inscription which is preserved in Elmes's *Life of Wren* (pp. 294-7).*

* See *post*, p. 41.

was written by Sir Christopher Wren, but not accepted by the Committee :—*

Qui celsam spectas molem, idem quoque infaustum & fatalem toti quondam civitati vides locum. Hic quippe, anno Christi MDCLXVI II Sept. altera post mediam noctem hora, ex casa humili, prima se extulit flamma, quæ Austro flante, adeo brevi invaluit, ut non tantum tota fere intra muros urbs, sed et ædificia quæcunque arcem et templariorum hospitium; quæcunque denique ripas fluminis et remotissima civitatis interjacent mœnia, ferali absumpta fuerint incendio. Tridui spatio, C Tempora, plateæ CCCC et plura quam XIV Domorum millia flammis absorpta fuere. Innumeri cives omnibus suis fortunis exuti, et sub divo agitare coacti, infinitæ, et toto orbe congestæ opes in cinerem et favillam redactæ: ita ut de urbe omnium quotquot sol aspicit amplissima, et felicissima, præter nomen et famam, et immensos ruinarum aggeres, vix quicquam superesset. Carolus secundus, Dei gratia, rex Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, anno regni XVIII et plerique Angliæ proceres consumpta incendio urbe pene universa, eademque triennio spatio in ampliorem modum instaurata, et non ut ante ligneis aut luteis, sed partim lateritiis, partim marmoreis ædificiis, et operibus, ita ornata, ut e suis ruinis pulchrior multo prodiisse videatur; auctis præterea ad immensam magnitudinem urbis pomœriis; ad æternam utriusque facti memoriam, hic ubi tantæ cladis prima emicuit flamma Monumentum posuere. Discat præsens et futura ætas, nequa similis ingruat clades, tempestivis Numen placare votis: beneficium vero, regis, et procerum, quorum liberalitate, præter ornatum, major etiam urbi accessit securitas, grata mente recognoscat.

* Parentalia, pp. 332-4.

O quantum tibi debet AUGUSTA,
 Tot nascentia templa, tot renata,
 Tot spectacula !* — — MARTIAL.

TRANSLATION OF SIR C. WREN'S INSCRIPTION.

Thou who gazest at this lofty column seest also a place once unfortunate and fateful to the whole city. For here in the year of Christ, 1666, on the 2nd of September, in the second hour after midnight, from a lowly cottage first arose the flame, which, the south wind blowing, grew in a short space so strong, that not only almost the whole city within the walls, but all the edifices between the Tower and the Templars' Inn, all, in fine, between the river banks and the farthest parts of the City, were consumed by a disastrous conflagration. In the space of three days 100 churches, 400 streets, and more than 14,000 houses were devoured. Countless citizens were despoiled of all their fortunes and compelled to live under the sky: boundless wealth, gathered from the whole earth, was reduced to ashes and embers; so that of the richest and happiest city of all that the sun beholds scarce anything remained but name and fame and vast heaps of ruins. Charles II, by the Grace of God King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, in the 18th year of his reign, and the more part of the nobility of England,—after that almost the whole city had been consumed by fire, and the same had in three years been

* The hen-decasyllables would seem to be adapted from Martial VI, 4, which runs:—

Censor maxime principumque princeps,
 Cum tot iam tibi debeat triumphos,
 Tot nascentia templa, tot renata,
 Tot spectacula, tot deos, tot urbes:
 Plus debet tibi Roma quod pudica est.

Wren's first line is not in the metre.

restored in a more handsome manner, and not as before with wooden or clay, but partly with brick, partly with stone buildings and works had been so embellished as to seem to have come forth more beautiful from its ruins ; the boundaries moreover of the City having been enlarged to a vast size—for the everlasting remembrance of both events ; here, where the first flame of that great disaster shone forth, have erected a Monument. Let the present generation and that to come—lest any like disaster come upon them—learn to appease the Deity with seasonable vows : let them also with gratitude acknowledge the favour of the King and the nobility by whose generosity the City has received not only embellishment but also greater security.

O how great Augusta's debt to thee,
 So many churches rising, so many risen again,
 So many sights.

The following entries in the City records occur *three years after the completion of the Monument and its inscriptions*. They clearly show that the Monument was originally erected simply to perpetuate the memory of the dreadful Fire of London, and that the idea of publicly ascribing the calamity to the intentional designs of the Papists was not formed until after the so-called discovery of the Popish plot, by Titus Oates, in 1678. At a Court of Common Council, held on the 12th November, 1680, it was ordered "that Mr. Comptroller, taking to his assistance such persons as he shall think fitt, doe compose and draw up an inscription in Latin and English, to be affixed on the Monument on Fish-Street Hill, signifying that the City of London was burnt and consumed with fire by the treachery

and malice of the papists in September in the year of Our Lord 1666." *

The Comptroller was not so prompt in the execution of his duty as Dr. Gale, perhaps owing to the delicate nature of his task. On the 17th June, in the following year, † he presented, at a Court of Common Council, an inscription in Latin and English. The Latin is as follows: Sed furor papisticus qui tam dira patravit nondum restinguitur "w'ch he conceives might properly be added to the p'sent inscripc'on on the north side thereof, after these words: 'stetit fatalis ignis et quaquaversum elanguit.'" The English inscription follows in these words:—"This pillar was sett up in perpetuelli remembrance of the most dreadful Burning of this Protestant City, begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction, in the beginning of September, in the year of Our Lord 1666, in order to the effecting of their horrid plot for the extirpating the protestant religion, and English liberties, and to introduce popery and slavery; † which said inscripc'ons being read, this Court doth very well like and approve of them, and doth order that the same shall be forthwith affixed on the said Monument in the most convenient parts thereof att the direccon and appoint^{mt} of the Rt. Hon^{ble} the Lord Mayor and Court of Ald^{men}. And it is likewise ordered that another inscripc'on in English now p'sented by Mr. Comptroller and read in this Court and agreed on shall be likewise forthwith affixed on the front of the house where the said fire

* Journal 49, f. 156b.

† *Ib.*, f. 224.

‡ This inscription was engraved around the plinth of the lower pedestal, beginning on the West Side.

began, at the like appointment of the Lord Mayor and Court of Ald^{men} w^{ch} said inscrip^on is in these words ” :—

HERE BY ^EY PERMISSION OF HEAVEN HELL BROKE LOOSE
UPON THIS PROTESTANT CITY FROM THE MALICIOUS
HEARTS OF BARBAROUS PAPISTS, BY ^EY HAND OF THEIR
AGENT HUBERT, WHO CONFESSED, AND ON ^EY RUINES
OF THIS PLACE DECLARED THE FACT, FOR WHICH HE
WAS HANGED, (VIZT.) THAT HERE BEGAN THAT DRED
-FULL FIRE, WHICH IS DESCRIBED AND PERPETUATED
ON AND BY THE NEIGHBOURING PILLAR.

ERECTED ANNO 168 [1, 1]N THE MAJORALTIE OF
S^R PATIENCE WARD K^T.*

The two following resolutions were also passed by the Court of Aldermen :—

“ 23rd day of June, 1681. The Right Hon^{ble} the Lord Mayor is desired by this Court to direct the setting up the Inscriptions lately agreed to in Common Counsell touching the firing of this City by the Papists, A.D. 1666, upon the Pillar on Fish St. Hill, and the house where the Fire began, in such manner as his Lordship shall think convenient.” †

“ 12th July, 1681. It is now agreed by this Court that the Right Honourable the Lord Mayor, who was desired by this Court to cause the additionall inscriptions lately agreed to in Common Counsell, to be set up on the Pillar of Fish Street Hill, doe in order thereunto cause the Inscription already made on the said Pillar, or such part thereof as his Lordship shall think convenient, to be taken out and anew engraved, the better to make way for the said additional Inscription.” ‡

* From the original stone ; a few letters are wanting, owing to a fracture. See p. 41,
note †. † Repertory 86, f. 151. ‡ Ib., f. 162.

It seems probable, from the above minutes, that the Protestant zeal of the Lord Mayor, Sir Patience Ward,* had much to do with setting up these additional inscriptions. At all events, Sir Patience is credited by Thomas Ward, in his "England's Reformation," with being their author.† Speaking of Titus Oates and his "discoveries," he writes :—

He swore,—with flaming faggot sticks,
In sixteen hundred sixty-six,
They thorow London took their marches,
And burn'd the City down with torches.

* Sir Patience Ward was the son of Thomas Ward, of Tanshelf, in Pontefract, Yorkshire. He was apprenticed to Launcelot Tolson, merchant-taylor and merchant-adventurer, of St. Helens, on the 10th June, 1646, and afterwards became free of the Merchant Taylors' Company, serving the office of Master in 1671. His portrait is preserved in their Hall. In 1670 he was elected Sheriff of London and Middlesex, and became Lord Mayor ten years later. In his speech at his election he strongly affirmed his determination to uphold the Protestant religion. A copy of this speech and of the pageant entitled 'London's Glory,' devised by Thomas Jordan for his mayoralty inauguration, are preserved in the Guildhall Library. Soon after the accession of James II he withdrew from his native country, probably to Holland, as his wife was buried in 1685 at Amsterdam. He resided in Laurence Pountney Lane, occupying a portion of the ancient palace, variously known as 'Manor of the Rose' and 'Poultney's Inn,' the mansion having formerly belonged to Sir John Poultney, who was four times Lord Mayor of London during the reign of Edward the Third. Sir Patience Ward was a Commissioner of the Customs, and was knighted the 29th October, 1675. In 1688-9 he represented the City of London in Parliament. He married on the 8th June, 1654, Elizabeth, daughter of William Hobson, of Hackney, but left no issue. He died the 10th July, 1696, and was buried in St. Mary Abchurch. By his will, proved in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, 7th August, 1696 [167 Bond], he bequeathed to the son of his nephew, Patience Ward, an estate adjoining Tanshelf, and £1,000 to purchase land in the neighbourhood. For further particulars, consult Wilson's History of the parish of St. Laurence Pountney, and Luttrell's Relation of State affairs.

† England's Reformation, from the time of King Henry the VIIIth to the end of Oates's plot, 4to, Hambourgh, 1710. Canto iv, p. 100. (Brit. Mus. 840, l.i.)

Yet all invisible they were,
 Clad in their coats of Lapland aire.
 That sniffing Whig-major Patience Ward,
 To this damn'd lie had such regard,
 That he his godly masons sent,
 T'engrave it round the Monument.
 They did so ; but let such things pass,
 His men were fools, and he an ass.

The Lord Mayor, however, only shared the general opinion of the time ; for on the 10th January, 1680, the following vote was passed by the House of Commons :—" That it is the opinion of this House that the City of London was burnt in the year one thousand six hundred sixty and six, by the papists ; designing thereby to introduce arbitrary power and popery into this Kingdom." *

Soon after the accession of James II, the additional inscriptions were obliterated and removed. But the order was reversed on the accession of William III, in accordance with the following minute :—

Court of Common Council, 16th September, 1689. " It is unaniemously agreeede and ordered by this Court that the two severall Inscript'ons formerly sett up by order of this Court in the Mayoralty of S^r Patience Ward, on the Monument and the house where the dreadfull Fire began (which have been since taken down,) be again sett upp in their former places, and that Mr. Chamb'laine and Mr. Comptroller doe se the same done accordingly." †

The objectionable additions were finally removed, under an order of the Court of Common Council dated the 6th December,

* Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. ix, p. 703.

† Journal 51, f. 11.

1830.* At this time, probably, the stone was also removed from the house in Pudding Lane.† This wise decision, besides setting right historical facts, removes from the Monument the obloquy expressed in Pope's well-known lines (*Moral Essays*, Ep. III, ll. 339-342)—

Where London's column pointing at the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts the head, and lies,
There dwelt a citizen of sober fame,
A plain good man, and Balaam † was his name.

Southey, in his *Omniana* (1812, Vol. i., pp. 49-50), writes: "At the end of Littleton's Dictionary [6th edit., 1735], is an inscription for the Monument, wherein this very learned scholar proposes a name for it, worthy for its length of a Sanscrit legend. It is a word which extends through seven degrees of longitude, being designed to commemorate the names of the seven Lord Mayors of London, under whose respective mayoralties the Monument was begun, continued, and completed—

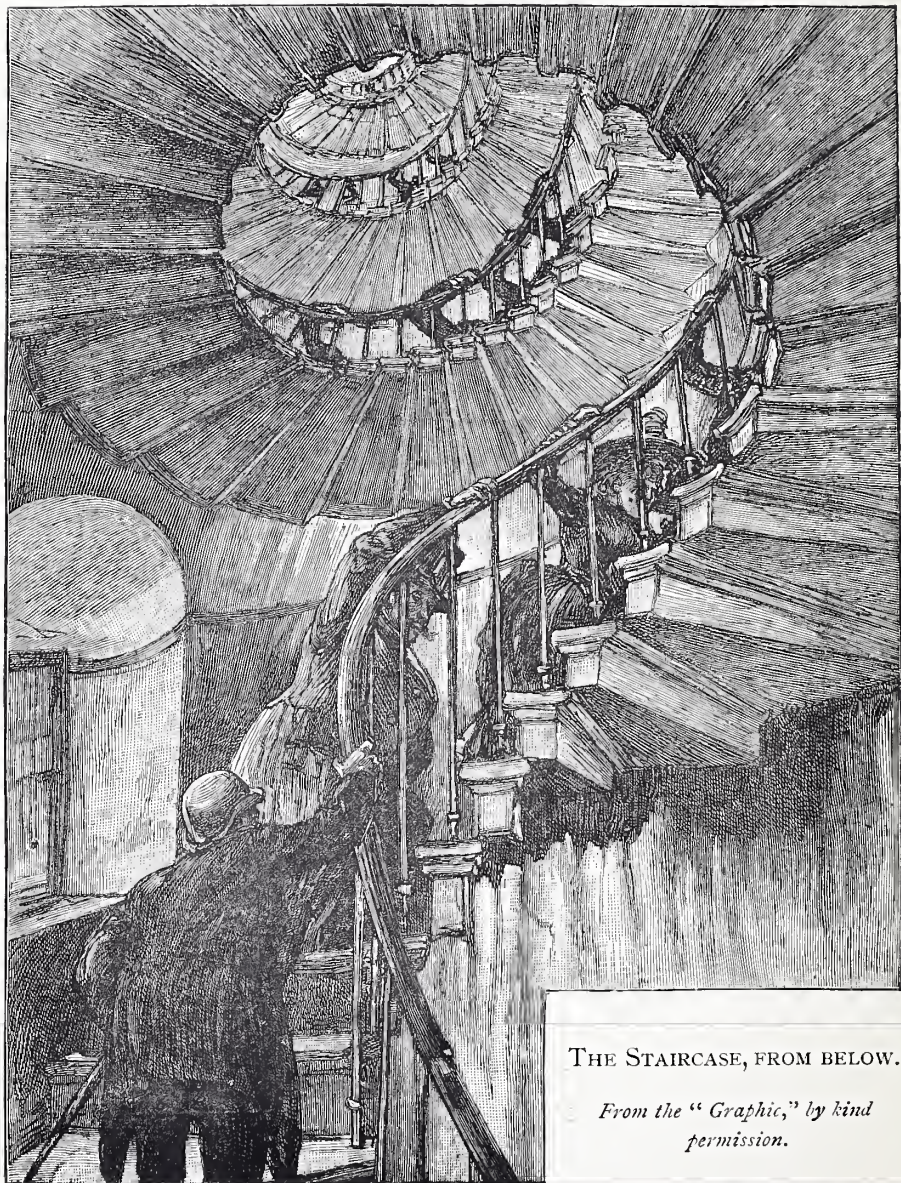
QUAM NON UNA ALIQUA AC SIMPLICI VOCE, UTI ISTAM
QUONDAM *DUILIANUM*;
SED, UT VERO EAM NOMINE INDIGITES, VOCABULO
CONSTRUCTILITER HEPTASTEGO
FORDO-WATERMANNO-HANSONO-HOOKERO-
VINERO-SHELDONO-DAVISIANAM
APPELLITES OPORTEBIT.

Well might Adam Littleton call this an *heptastic vocable*, rather than a word."

* Minutes of the Court of Common Council, 1830, p. 167. Cf. *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1831, pt. i, pp. 102-4, 311-15.

† It is now preserved in the Guildhall Museum, having been presented in 1876 by Messrs. King & Son, by whom it was found buried in the garden of the house.

‡ Balaam was one of the principal salt fishmongers who kept shop on the east side of New Fish-street. He resided at the corner of Monument Yard, and his house is shown in the large view of the Monument (see p. 89), as a large mansion with open windows, having the name "Balaam" inscribed over the door.



THE STAIRCASE, FROM BELOW.

*From the "Graphic," by kind
permission.*



CHAPTER III.

HISTORICAL INCIDENTS AND LITERARY NOTICES.



THE illustration of Fish Street Hill and the Monument at page 89, from a scarce print of about the year 1720, preserved in the Guildhall Library, gives an interesting view of the old house-signs in the locality.

The "Sun" tavern, which is seen on the south-west corner of Monument Yard, was often visited by Samuel Pepys. Under the date of 8th November, 1661, he notes "To the Sun in New Fish Street, where Sir J. Winnes, Sir William Batten, and we all were to dine."* In the 17th century the host of this tavern issued a token on which his and his wife's initials appear as T. E. P.

The sign of the fourth house in the opposite direction towards Eastcheap was the "Anchor and Cable." This was the shop of William Newman, as appears from his token issued after the Great Fire. There are three tokens extant of the "King's Head," kept by Thomas Blagrove, which is mentioned in "Newes from Bartholomew Fayre," as the "King's Head in New Fish streete, where roysterers do range." Tradesmen's tokens also exist for the following houses in New Fish Street :—the "Swan and

* Diary 4th ed, 1854, Vol. i, p. 232.

Bridge," the "Harrow Inn," the "Mitre," the "Black Spread Eagle," and the "Grasshopper." An 18th century penny token, bearing the device of the Monument, with the arms of London on the reverse, is described in Conder's Arrangement of provincial tokens.*

In accordance with Wren's original intention,† the column was at first used as a place for certain experiments of the Royal Society; but the vibration caused by the ceaseless traffic proved too great to allow of the experiments being successfully carried on.

Evelyn wished that the column had been placed where the fire ended, and "a plain lugubrious marble" where it began. He says, "I question not but I have the architect himself on my side, whose rare and extraordinary talent, and what he has performed of great and magnificent, this column, and what he is still about and is advancing under his direction, will speak and perpetuate his memory, as long as one stone remains upon another in this nation." ‡

Roger North, in his life of his brother, Sir Dudley North, § thus describes an amusing adventure of Sir Dudley, in climbing to the summit of the Monument: "He took pleasure in surveying the Monument, and comparing it with mosque towers, and what, of that kind, he had seen abroad. We mounted up to the top, and, one after another, crept up the hollow iron frame that carries the copper head and flames above. We went out at a rising plate of iron that hinged, and there found convenient irons to hold by. We made use of them, and raised our bodies entirely

* Ipswich, 1799, p. 72.

† Wren describes the Monument as an observatory or "Columna speculatoria."

See note, p. 18.

‡ Evelyn, "Numismata," Ed. 1697, p. 162. § Ed. 1826, Vol. iii, p. 207.

above the flames, having only our legs, to the knees, within ; and there we stood till we were satisfied with the prospects from thence. I cannot describe how hard it was to persuade ourselves we stood safe ; so likely did our weight seem to throw down the whole fabric."

The following is taken from Read's *Weekly Journal*, September 26th, 1730 :—"Last Thursday a nimble little drawer at the Baptist Head Tavern in the Old Baily ran up to the gallery on the top of the Monument and down again, for a considerable wager laid by some gentlemen frequenting the house. He had three minutes to do it in, but performed it in two minutes and a half and two seconds ; which is look'd upon as an extraordinary performance of the kind, and [what] not one in an hundred of the fraternity can do. We hear that as he was running down, he often cry'd, 'Coming, Coming, Sir !'"

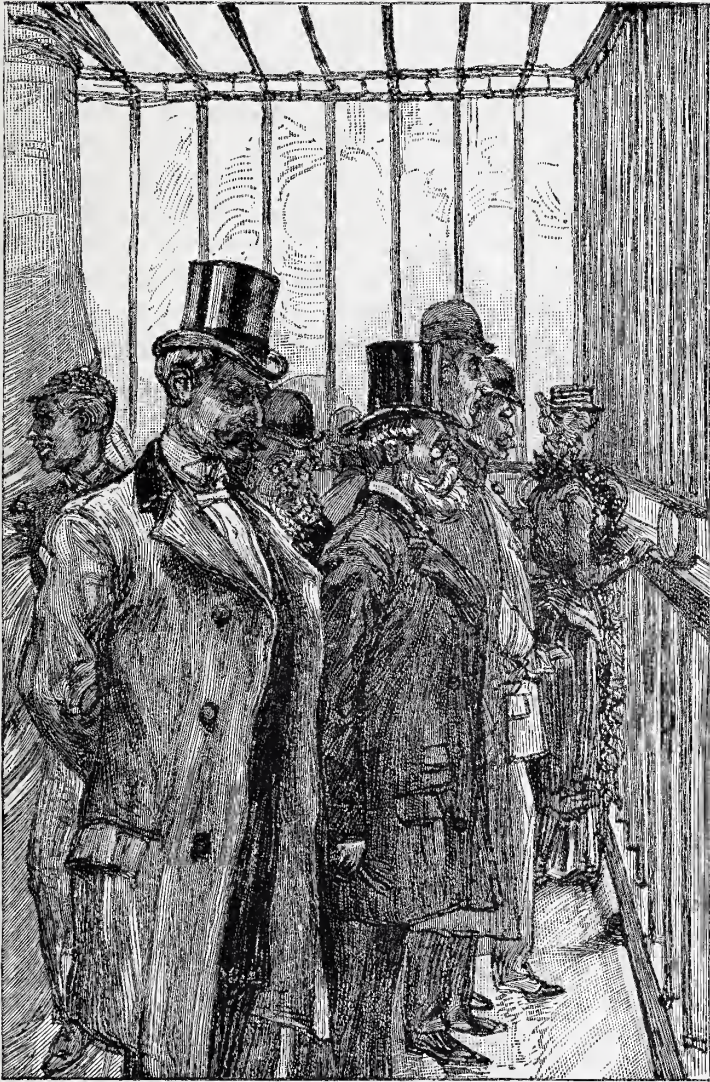
In the *Daily Journal* of 16th September, 1732, appears this account of a sailor's foolhardy adventure :—"Yesterday, about 5 o'clock in the evening, notwithstanding the wind was so high, a sailor flew from the top of the Monument to the Upper Three Tuns tavern in Gracechurch-street, which he did in less than half a minute : there was a numerous crowd of spectators to see him. He came down within 20 feet of the place where the rope was fixed, and then flung himself off ; and offered, if the gentlemen would make him a handsome collection, he would go up and fly down again. In the morning, when the rope was tied round the Monument, a waterman's boy paid for going up to the gallery, but in his return, finding the stairs crowded, he thought the quickest way down again was by the rope ; and he accordingly swung down upon it, as it hung loose, into the Monument Yard, without receiving any injury."

The Monument does not escape Ned Ward's satire, but forms the subject of a somewhat gross burlesque in his *London Spy*:—"Now," says my friend, 'I'll show you a towering edifice, erected thro' the wisdom and honesty of the city, as a very high memorandum of its being laid low, either by a judgement from heaven for the sins of the people, or by the treachery of the papists, according to the inscription of the Monument, who, I suppose, as ignorant of the matter as myself; for that was neither built then, or I born: so I believe we are equally as able to tell the truth of the story, as a quack astrologer is by the assistance of the signs and planets, what was the name of Moses's great grand-father, or how many quarts of water went to the worlds drowning. You'll be mightily pleas'd with the loftiness of this slender column, for its very height was the first thing that ever occasioned wry necks in England, by the peoples staring at the top on't. What! is it of no use, but only to gaze at? Astrologers go often to the top on't . . . though the chief use of it is for the improvement of vintners' boys and drawers, who come every week to exercise their supporters, and learn the tavern-trip, by running up to the balcony and down again, which fixes them in a nimble step, and makes them rare light-heeled emissaries in a months practice. Do you observe the carving, which contains the king and his brothers pictures? They were cut by an eminent artist, and are look'd upon by a great many impartial judges to be a couple of extraordinary good figures.'"

The following humorous account by Addison of his visit to the Monument with his friend the Tory fox-hunter is taken from "The Freeholder," No. 47 †:—"After having here satiated our

* The *London Spy* compleat, in eighteen parts, 4th edition, 1709, pp. 55-6.

† Works, 1811, Vol. vi, p. 217.



THE BALCONY OR "CAGE."
From the "Graphic," by kind permission.

curiosity we repaired to the Monument, where my fellow traveller, being a well-breathed man, mounted the ascent with much speed and activity. I was forced to halt so often in this perpendicular march that, upon my joining him on the top of the pillar, I found he had counted all the steeples and towers which were discernible from this advantageous situation, and was endeavouring to compute the number of acres they stood upon. We were both of us very well pleased with this part of the prospect ; but I found he cast an evil eye upon several warehouses, and other buildings, that looked like barns, and seemed capable of receiving great multitudes of people. His heart misgave him that these were so many meeting-houses, but, upon communicating his suspicions to me, I soon made him easy in this particular. We then turned our eyes upon the river, which gave me an occasion to inspire him with some favourable thoughts of trade and merchandise, that had filled the Thames with such crowds of ships, and covered the shore with such swarms of people.

“We descended very leisurely, my friend being careful to count the steps, which he registered in a blank leaf of his new almanac. Upon our coming to the bottom, observing an English inscription upon the basis, he read it over several times, and told me he could scarce believe his own eyes, for that he had often heard from an old attorney, who lived near him in the country, that it was the Presbyterians who burned down the city ; whereas, says he, this pillar positively affirms in so many words, that ‘ the burning of this ancient city was begun and carried on by the treachery and malice of the popish faction, in order to the carrying on their horrid plot for extirpating the Protestant religion and old English liberty, and introducing popery and slavery.’ This account, which he looked upon to be more authentic, than if it had been in print, I found, made a very great impression upon him.”

The following is from Kalm's Account of his Visit to England on his way to America, in 1748* :—"To-day I went up inside the *Monument*, as it is called, in London, and inspected the same. Many would shudder to look down from such a height, and wonder how so high and narrow a pillar of stone, which is hollow within, so that one can go up steps inside it to the top, has been able to stand for so many years steady and firm."

In his "Observations sur Londres," (1777, p. 98), M. Lacombe thus notices the additional inscription of 1681 :—"La haine que le peuple Anglais porte aux catholiques Romains, qu'il appelle Papistes par dérision, a fait attribuer l'incendie aux catholiques, comme l'inscription injurieuse la porte."

M. Ferri de St. Constant in his interesting description of London,† follows Evelyn‡ in finding fault with the situation of the Monument :—"Rien n'est plus ridicule que la situation du monument, si ce n'est la raison qu'on donne du choix qu'on en a fait, c'est-à-dire, que l'incendie commença dans cet endroit."

M. A. J. B. Defauconpret, the author of a work (published in 1819), entitled: "Une Année à Londres," devotes a chapter to a description of the Monument,§ in which he thus remarks upon the name of "The Monument." "Le nom de monument étant un nom générique, il paraît assez singulier qu'on l'ait particulièrement adapté à une colonne. Mais si l'on se rappelle que l'orgueil romain désignait souvent la capitale de l'empire par le nom de 'la ville,' on verra aisément que c'est par la même emphase que la jactance anglaise a nommé une colonne d'une exécution médiocre 'le monument' par excellence."

* Translated by Joseph Lucas, from the Swedish. *London*, 1892. 8vo., page 24.

† *Londres et les Anglais*, par J. L. Ferri de St. Constant, 1804, Vol. i, p. 87.

‡ See p. 36.

§ pp. 165-172.

In Fontane's "Ein Sommer in London," 1854, p. 19, is a whimsical notice of the urn on the Monument, which, with a translation, here follows :—

"Wir kommen von der Londonbrücke und haben zur Rechten das 'Monument,' das im Jahre 1677 zur Erinnerung an das grosse City-Feuer errichtet wurde. Ich habe nichts gegen diese Säule-wiewohl ich nicht recht fasse, was man mit ihrer Aufstellung und der steten Vergegenwärtigung eines grossen Unglücks bezweckte, muss aber feierlichst protestiren gegen die 42 Fuss hohe Flammenurne, womit eine konfuse Pietät und der barste Ungeschmack den Knauf jener Säule geschmückt haben. Die vorgeblichen Flammenbüchsel dieser Urne sind alles Mögliche, nur eben keine Flammen, und da es dieser goldenen Kuriosität gegenüber, ähnlich wie beim Bleigiessen in der Neujahrsnacht, der Phantasie jedes Einzelnen überlassen bleiben muss, was sie aus diesen Ecken und Spitzen herauszulesen für gut befindet, so mache ich kein Hehl daraus, dass ich die Flammenurne für ein riesiges Kissen mit hundert goldnen Nadeln und in Folge davon die berühmte Säule selbst für ein Wahrzeichen der ehrsamten Schneiderzunft gehalten habe, dessen historische Begründung mir leider nicht gegenwärtig sei."

"Coming from London Bridge, we have the 'Monument' on our right, which was erected in the year 1677 as a memento of the great City fire. I have nothing against this column, although I do not quite comprehend what end is served by its erection, and the continual memorial of a great disaster. I must, however, solemnly protest against the fire-urn, 42 feet high, with which a mistaken piety and the most utter want of taste has embellished the summit of this column. The supposed flame-bundle of this urn may be anything, always excepted flames, and since as

regards this golden curiosity, like the smelting of lead on New Year's night, it must be left to the imagination of each individual to make out of those corners and points what he considers best, I make no secret of the fact that I take this flame-urn for a monster cushion with a hundred golden needles in, and in consequence consider the celebrated column itself as a sign of the Worshipful Company of Taylors, whose historical foundation is unfortunately not known to me."

Émile Bouchaud, in his "Un mois à Londres,"* says:—"Non loin de ce point, se dresse, sous le nom pompeux de *Monument*, la colonne commémorative du grand incendie de 1666. Cette colonne dorique, cannelée, la plus grande peut-être qui soit au monde, a deux cents pieds de haut, quarante pieds de plus que la colonne Trajane ; mais à côté de cet élégant modèle antique, le *Monument* n'est plus qu'une vulgaire pile de pierres!"

The author of "Un mois en Angleterre," † speaking of the Monument, writes:—"Il faut convenir que ce vase laissant échapper des flammes n'est pas un couronnement de bon goût, on dirait voir là un ornement provisoire, car on ne peut terminer une œuvre pareille que par une statue de dimensions colossales proportionnelles."

Conversation Sharp used to point out a house at the corner of Monument Yard where Goldsmith, when in destitute circumstances in London, filled for a short time the situation of shopman to a chemist named Jacob. ‡

On the 31st of December, 1857, Mr. John Hollingshead,

* p. 108.

† 8°. Bruxelles, 1862, p. 50.

‡ Wheatley's London Past and Present, 1891, Vol. ii, p. 559.

the well-known writer, spent the whole night on the top of the Monument, and has given in his "Under Bow Bells"* an interesting and graphic account of his experience and of the changing appearance of London, as seen from that height, through the successive hours of evening, night, and morning.

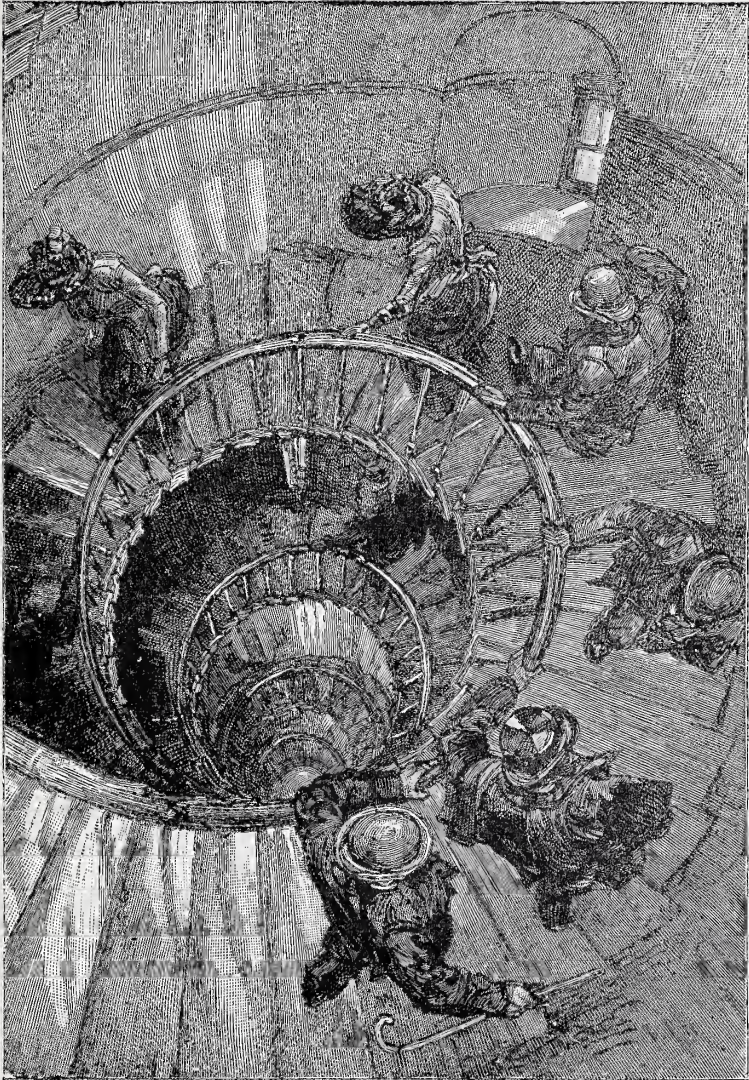
On the 15th June, 1825, the Monument was illuminated with portable gas, in commemoration of the laying of the first stone of London Bridge. A lamp was placed at each of the loopholes of the column, to give the idea of its being wreathed with flames, whilst two other series were placed on the edges of the gallery, to which the public were admitted during the evening.

In one of the London daily journals of August 22nd, 1827, there appeared the following burlesque advertisement :—"Incredible as it may appear, a person will attend at the Monument, and will, for the sum of £2,500, undertake to JUMP clear off the said Monument, and in coming down will drink some beer and eat a cake, act some trades, shorten and make sail, and bring ship safe to anchor. As soon as the sum stated is collected, the performance will take place ; and if not performed, the money subscribed to be returned to the subscribers." †

A curious circumstance connected with the Monument occasioned the publication, in 1847, of a booklet, entitled "History of the Life and Adventures of a Mouse, written by himself." The preface informs us that a mouse took up its abode at the Monument, and remained there for nearly two years. It became latterly so tame as to suffer itself to be handled, and to take food

* 1860, pp. 44-57.

† History of the Monument of London. Printed for John Bleadon. Page 21.



THE STAIRCASE, FROM ABOVE.
From the "Graphic," by kind permission.

from a person's hand, without showing fear or attempting to escape, and might be seen sitting by the fire or running about during the greater part of the day. The poor little creature met with a tragic end on the 8th November, 1847, a few days after its memoirs were written. Its death was occasioned by a piece of a burning cigar being accidentally thrown upon it.

On the 18th November, 1852, by permission of the City Lands Committee, a party of four artillerymen of the Royal Artillery were stationed on the Monument for the purpose of passing signals to the Tower from St. Paul's Cathedral, on the occasion of the funeral of the Duke of Wellington.

On the 25th June, 1750, William Green, a weaver, whilst reaching over the railing of the balcony to look at a live eagle kept there in a cage, accidentally lost his balance, and fell over against the top of the pedestal, thence into the street, and was killed. Six persons have committed suicide by throwing themselves from the Monument gallery: (1) John Cradock, a baker, 7th July, 1788; (2) Lyon Levi, a Jewish diamond merchant, 18th January, 1810; (3) a baker named Leander, in the same year; (4) Margaret Moyes, daughter of a baker in Hemmings-row, 11th September, 1839; (5) Robert Donaldson Hawes, a boy aged 15, 18th October, 1839; (6) Jane Cooper, a servant maid living at Hoxton, 19th August, 1842. After this last tragedy the building was temporarily closed, and the gallery was enclosed with an iron cage, as shown in the accompanying illustration.

The column has undergone frequent repairs and embellishments. In May, 1834, it was completely renovated, a scaffolding being erected from the gallery to the top of the urn, in order that

it might be repaired and re-gilded. The construction of the scaffolding was very ingenious, and much courage and skill were displayed by the workmen in its erection. The last repairs to the Monument took place in 1888, when the ornamentation to the abacus was removed, having been originally fastened with iron bolts, a plan long since obsolete among architects. A swinging scaffolding was put up and the structure examined from top to bottom. The result showed the remarkable strength and soundness of the column ; the stone being of splendid quality. On this occasion accurate measurements of the entire column were taken, and careful drawings prepared under the direction of the late City Architect. The drawings include an elevation of the east side, with the entrance to the Monument, and give every detail of the decorations, on a scale of 8 feet to an inch. There are also a vertical section of the whole column with exact dimensions, and four transverse sections. The building is now in as good a condition as ever.

The great majority of the visitors to the Monument are persons living in the country or abroad ; the number of admissions during the year 1891 reached the large total of 73,057. The following is a list of the later

KEEPERS OF THE MONUMENT.

NAME.	WHEN ELECTED.		
Samuel Arnott	20th March, 1805.
Charles Chapman	18th March, 1825.
John Bleaden	7th August, 1833.
Thomas Woodward	20th December, 1865.

After Mr. Woodward's death on 1st April, 1890, the office of Keeper of the Monument was abolished. This office was in the appointment of the Court of Common Council, but the building has always been under the authority of the Committee for Letting the City Lands.



A PROSPECT of the CITY of LONDON from ST MARIE OVERS STEEPLE in SOUTHWARK in its flourishing Condition before the FIRE



Another PROSPECT of the above CITY taken from the Same PLACE as it Appeared after that DREADFULL FIRE in 1666



A Plan for Rebuilding the CITY after the FIRE Design'd by that Great Architect, *S^r CHRISTOPH^r WREN* and approv'd of by *Prin^c and PARLIAMENT* but unhappily Defeat'ed by *FACTION*

REFERENCE to the VIEWS

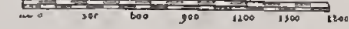
- | | |
|------------------------------|---------------------------|
| 1 S. Benet | 25 S. Bartholemew |
| 2 S. Andrew in Wardrop | 26 S. Edmunds |
| 3 S. Peters in Thames street | 27 S. Michael in Cornhill |
| 4 S. Martins by Ludgate | 28 Allhallows |
| 5 S. Andrew in Holborne | 29 S. Peters in Cornhill |
| 6 S. Pulehers | 30 S. Denis |
| 7 S. Nicholas | 31 S. Magnus |
| 8 S. Christ Church | 32 S. Andrew Hubart |
| 9 S. Augutines | 33 S. Mary Hill |
| 10 S. Fofter | 34 S. Botolph Aldgate |
| 11 S. John Zachary | 35 S. Dunlans Pall |
| 12 S. Martins in Thames str. | 36 Allhallows Barking |
| 13 S. Marys Aldermanbury | 37 Pauls Wharfe |
| 14 S. Thomas | 38 Waterhoufe |
| 15 Bow Church | 39 S. Crane |
| 16 S. Laurence | 40 Queen hithe |
| 17 S. Mary Botolph La. | 41 Siliard |
| 18 Allhallows the Gr | 42 Col-Harbour |
| 19 S. Stephens Colman Str | 43 Old Swan |
| 20 S. Margaret | 44 Fish mongers hall |
| 21 S. Mary Wilnoth | 45 Bilins gate |
| 22 S. Laurence Poutnev | |
| 23 S. Stephens in Walbroke | |
| 24 S. Christopher | |

EXPLANATION to the PLAN

The shadowed part is that which escap'd the Contagration

C.Churches M-Markets

A Scale of 1800 Feet



V U E S
DE LA
VILLE de LONDRES

Comme il estoit devant & apres

L'INCENDIE de 1666.

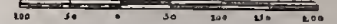
AVEC

Le PLAN pour la rebatir.

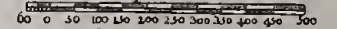
Projeté par ce grand ARCHITECTE le Chevalier CHRISTOPHE WREN, & approuvé par le Roi & PARLEMENT; mais malheureusement rejeté par Faction.

Publié par JEAN ROCQUE, Chorographe de Son Altesse Royale le Prince de GALLES 1758.

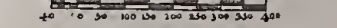
A Scale of 300 Toises



560 Yards or 1/4 of a Mile Irish



440 Yards or 1/4 of a Mile English





CHAPTER IV.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE GREAT FIRE OF LONDON.



DESCRIPTION of the Monument would not be complete without an account of the dreadful conflagration which it was erected to commemorate. A contemporary and official record appeared in two issues of the *London Gazette*. The first is dated Sunday, 2nd September, 1666,* the day of the outbreak of the conflagration. The second appeared six days later,† the regular issue of the paper having been interrupted by the great calamity. These important and interesting records merit a full reproduction.

"The London Gazette, Sunday, September 2, 1666.

About two a clock this morning a sudden and lamentable fire brake out in this city, beginning not far from Thames Street, near London Bridge, which continues still with great violence, and hath already burnt down to the ground many houses thereabouts; which sad accident affected His Majesty with that tenderness, and compassion, that he was pleased to go himself in

* *London Gazette*, No. 84, "From Thursday, August 30, to Monday, Septemb. 3, 1666," p. 2.

† *Ib.*, No. 85, "From Monday, Septemb. 3, to Monday, Septemb. 10, 1666," pp. 1-2.

person, with His Royal Highness,* to give order that all possible means should be used for quenching the fire, or stopping its further spreading. In which care, the Right Honourable the Earl of Craven was sent by His Majesty, to be more particularly assisting to the Lord Mayor and magistrates; and several companies of his guards sent into the City, to be helpful by what ways they could in so great a calamity."

"The London Gazette, September 8, 1666.

The ordinary course of this paper having been interrupted by a sad and lamentable accident of fire lately hapned in the City of *London*: It hath been thought fit for satisfying the minds of so many of His Majesties good subjects who must needs be concerned for the issue of so great an accident to give this short, but true account of it.

On the second instant at one of the clock in the morning there hapned to break out a sad deplorable fire in Pudding Lane, neer New Fish Street, which falling out at that hour of the night, and in a quarter of the town so close built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day, and with such distraction to the inhabitants and neighbours, that care was not taken for the timely preventing the further diffusion of it, by pulling down houses, as ought to have been; so that this lamentable fire in a short time became too big to be mastred by any engines or working neer it. It fell out most unhappily too, that a violent easterly wind fomented it, and kept it burning all that day, and the night following, spreading itself up to Gracechurch Street, and downwards from Cannon Street to the water-side as far as the Three Cranes in the Vintrey.

* The Duke of York, afterwards James II.

The people in all parts about it distracted by the vastness of it, and their particular care to carry away their goods, many attempts were made to prevent the spreading of it by pulling down houses, and making great intervals, but all in vain, the fire seising upon the timber and rubbish and so continuing itself, even through those spaces, and raging in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday, notwithstanding His Majesties own, and His Royal Highness's indefatigable and personal pains to apply all possible remedies to prevent it, calling upon and helping the people with their guards; and a great number of nobility and gentry unweariedly assisting therein, for which they were requited with a thousand blessings from the poor distressed people. By the favour of God the wind slackned a little on Tuesday night and the flames meeting with Brick-buildings at the Temple, by little and little it was observed to lose its force on that side, so that on Wednesday morning we began to hope well, and His Royal Highness, never despairing nor slackning his personal care, wrought so well that day, assisted in some parts by the Lords of the Council before and behind it, that a stop was put to it at the Temple Church, neer Holborn Bridge, Pie Corner, Aldersgate, Cripplegate, neer the lower end of Coleman Street, at the end of Basinghall Street, by the Postern, at the upper end of Bishopsgate Street and Leadenhall Street, at the Standard in Cornhill, at the Church in Fanchurch Street, near Clothworkers' Hall in Mincing Lane, at the middle of Mark Lane, and at the Tower Dock.*

On Thursday, by the blessing of God it was wholly beat down and extinguished. But so as that evening it unhappily burst out again afresh at the Temple, by the falling of some sparks (as is supposed) upon a pile of wooden buildings; but His Royal

* Compare the plan showing the extent of the Fire at page 57.

Highness, who watched there that whole night in person, by the great labours and diligence used, and especially by applying powder to blow up the houses about it, before day most happily mastered it.

Divers strangers, Dutch and French, were, during the fire, apprehended upon suspicion that they contributed mischievously to it, who are all imprisoned, and informations prepared, to make a severe inquisition hereupon by my Lord Chief Justice Keeling, assisted by some of the Lords of the Privy Council, and some principal members of the City, notwithstanding which suspicions, the manner of the burning all along in a train, and so blown forwards in all its way by strong winds, makes us conclude the whole was the effect of an unhappy chance, or to speak better, the heavy hand of God upon us for our sins, showing us the terror of His judgment in thus raising the fire, and immediately after His miraculous and never enough to be acknowledged mercy in putting a stop to it when we were in the last despair, and that all attempts for the quenching of it, however industriously pursued, seemed insufficient. His Majesty then sat hourly in council, and ever since hath continued making rounds about the City in all parts of it where the danger and mischief was greatest, till this morning that he hath sent His Grace the Duke of Albemarle, whom he hath called for to assist him in this great occasion, to put his happy and successful hand to the finishing this memorable deliverance.

About the Tower the seasonable orders giving for plucking down houses to secure the magazines of powder, was more especially successful, that part being up the wind, notwithstanding which it came almost to the very gates of it, so as by this early provision, the several stores of war lodged in the Tower were entirely

saved: And we have further this infinite cause particularly to give God thanks, that the fire did not happen in any of those places where His Majesties naval stores are kept, so as tho it hath pleased God to visit us with His own hand, He hath not, by disfurnishing us with the means of carrying on the war, subjected us to our enemies.

It must be observed, that this fire happened in a part of the town, where tho the commodities were not very rich, yet they were so bulky that they could not well be removed, so that the inhabitants of that part where it first began have sustained very great loss, but by the best enquiry we can make, the other parts of the town, where the commodities were of greater value, took the alarum so early, that they saved most of their goods of value, which possibly may have diminished the loss, tho some think, that if the whole industry of the inhabitants had been applyed to the stopping of the fire, and not to the saving of their particular goods, the success might have been much better, not only to the publick, but to many of them in their own particulars.

Through this sad accident it is easie to be imagined how many persons were necessitated to remove themselves and goods into the open fields, where they were forced to continue some time, which could not but work compassion in the beholders, but His Majesties care was most signal in this occasion, who, besides his personal pains, was frequent in consulting all wayes for relieving those distressed persons, which produced so good effect, as well by His Majesties proclamations, and the orders issued to the neighbour justices of the peace to encourage the sending in provisions to the markets, which are publickly known, as by other directions, that when His Majesty, fearing

lest other orders might not yet have been sufficient, had commanded the victualler of his navy to send bread into Moorefields for the relief of the poor, which for the more speedy supply he sent in basket, out of the sea stores; it was found that the markets had been already so well supplied that the people, being unaccustomed to that kind of bread, declined it, and so it was returned in great part to His Majesties stores again, without any use made of it.

And we cannot but observe to the confutation of all His Majesties enemies, who endeavour to perswade the world abroad of great parties and disaffection at home against His Majesties Government; that a greater instance of the affections of this city could never be given then hath been now given in this sad and deplorable accident, when if at any time disorder might have been expected from the losses, distraction, and almost desperation of some persons in their private fortunes, thousands of people not having had habitations to cover them. And yet in all this time it hath been so far from any appearance of designs or attempts against His Majesties Government, that His Majesty and his royal brother, out of their care to stop and prevent the fire, frequently exposing their persons with very small attendants, in all parts of the town, sometimes even to be intermixed with those who laboured in the business yet nevertheless there hath not been observed so much as a murmuring word to fall from any, but on the contrary, even those persons whose losses rendred their conditions most desperate, and to be fit objects of others prayers, beholding these frequent instances of His Majesties care of his people, forgot their own misery, and filled the streets with their prayers for His Majesty, whose trouble they seemed to compassionate before their own."

The two following letters, both dated the 6th September, four days after the commencement of the Fire, give many interesting particulars, and have never before been published. The originals are preserved in the Guildhall Library. The first is from the celebrated Duke of Buckingham, the intimate friend and adviser of Charles II, and its style offers a complete contrast to the homely diction and somewhat remarkable spelling of the letter of Joseph Ames, dated from "Ye Golding Pellican."

Gentlemen, "Worthrop,* September 6, 1666.

A seruant of my owne is sent to mee from London to lett mee know, that in all proba[bi]lity before I cowld receiue the letter the whole Cittty of London within the walls would bee in Ashes. This messenger tolde mee that before hee came away, hee saw all Cheapside and pawls Church on fire. Theams street and all that part of the Towne had beene burnt before. Since that another man is come from London that assures mee Holborne is also sett on fire and that abowt threescore french and Dutch are taken, that were firing of howses, besids this weeke the posts are stopt which must either proceed from the burning of the post office, or from some insurrection in those parts, it being almost impossible that a thing of this nature cowld bee effected withowt a farther designe I am going my selfe imediatly to his Maiesty as my duty obliges mee in the meane time I haue sent this to lett you know the state of owr affaires, and in case you receiue noe letters from London at the time that you ought to receiue them by the poste on saturday night next, that you imediatly summon all the militia under my command to bee

* Probably Westhorp (? Suffolk) where, as Pepys tells us, the Duke and Duchess of Buckingham were staying in March, 1667. See Lord Braybrooke's note, Diary, 4th ed., Vol. iii, p. 78.

in Armes with all the speed imaginable and to keepe them together till further order from mee or from His Maiesty. if I finde upon my way to London or when I am there, reason to alter this order I shall despatch one imediatly to you about it. in the meane time I desire you to acquaint the Lords and Deputy Lieftenants of the East and north Ryding of Yorkshire with what orders I haue sent you, and I doe not doubt but they will follow your example.

I am Gentlemen

Your most affectionat friend and seruant

Buckingham.

since the writing of this letter a Gentleman is come from London that assures mee almost all the Strand is burnt, and that a greate many Anababtists haue beene taken setting howses on fire as well french and Dutch."

"Whappin 6 September 1666 : att y^e golding pellican

Sir. I cannot but Acquaint you of that sad Condishon y^e Cetÿ of London now Lay in : ye fier quenched Last night you haue dutles heard of that dredfull fier that began in y^e Cetÿ on satterdaÿ night Last : in puddin Lan in A bakers howse : that puddin Lane is next to ffish stret towards billingat the said fier burnt so violently wind blue hard att East north east ; that it haue Consumid all most y^e whole Cetÿ as thus y tower is ffree : but ffrom that whorf next it to y^e bridg & y new billdings ther : & so all A Longest y^e thems : to y^e Temple is burnt vp : & so rownding : vpword part of flett stret and at howborn bridg is stopid & gat ner to west smitchffild & so to Aldersgate and 2 or 3 howsis with out y^e gate : & so it gott ner to Cripil gatt & to moregatt : & still rownding to part of broad stret : and Just att ye eind of bishop gate strett :

ner Cornell : gratios strett & Ledinhall met : Ledinhall stand & so down About $\frac{1}{2}$ ffanchurch strett & to ye hind of tower strett only barkin Church stand all with in this Line is burnt vp destroyed Laid on heaps : onles som stepels : & walls & Chimnies stand A most dreadffull Lamontabl sight to behould :—

Sir wind still att NE we Cannot downe our ship is yett in blak wall reach :—our flett I heard att ye Victualin office to daÿ is before portsmouth : y^e hollans flett att Anker vpon y^e ffrench Cost : ner bullin : som Littel skurmig haue bing but wind was hÿe Littel or nothing was don : yett som others saÿ that two of the hollants ships ar destroyed :—nor what we shall do with our beer as ÿett I know not : I Cannot in Larg y^e Lord look in marcy vpon vs : with mÿ Respects to your self I Remain Sir

Joseph Ames.

Endorsed :—“ ffor M^r Tho : Pengelly

Marchan^t

att y^e worshipⁿ Snow Esq. Exon These.”

Another letter, written by an eye-witness John Rushworth, on the 8th of September, is preserved in Notes and Queries* as follows :—

“ S^r,—My last by tuesday post gave you an accmpt of London beeing Laid in ashes from gate to gate, even to the waters syde, except 4 or 5 parishes towards Algate and Bishopsgate, and to satisfy my self of the certainty therof I went yesterday morneing at Five of the Clock from St. Dunstones Church in Fleet street (wheree the Fire had received a Check by the Blessing of God upon the Endeavo^{rs} of my Lord Craven) to the Tower of London ; and as I went over heapes of rubbish and smoake, not one howse

* 5th Series, Vol. v, p. 307.

standing nor church but all Burnt, and most of the Bells melted, the houses round about Tower hill I found standing except two or three, and Seething Layne adjoyneing to Tower street, all intire upp to Crutched Fryers, and soe to Algate, and Leadenhall street standing firme, onely some part of Leadenhall Burnt, and from thence to Saint Dunstones Church in Fleet street not a howse standing ; the street Leading to Bishoppsgate stands intire, except a litle at the upper end, and Broad street alsoe, except a litle at the upper end, which is all that is standing except the Dutch Church, which hath received litle damage, but the French Church is burnt to the ground, soe is Guildhall, Blackwell hall, and the ould Exchange of which there remaynes nothing standing but the Turrett where the Clock hanged, S^r Thomas Gresham's picture, and halfe a pillar, Cheapsyde, Pater-noster rowe, and soe to Newgate, Criplegate, and Mooregate all Laid in Ashes ; The 5 parishes standing are these : part of Saint Austyns in Broad Street, Saint Ellens in Bishoppsgate Street, Saint Mary Ax in Leadenhall street, Creed Church and the Church in Crutched Fryers ; People are now beginning to bring in their goods into the Strand, and Holborne, and parts thereabouts, but those that Fledd out of the Citty wthin the walles are to seeke their habitac'ons. I shall say nothing at p'sent at the multitude of observac'ons, which I have made whilst I was a spectator of this sade Callamity, onely to this Lett us not Lay the Fault upon the French or Dutch, or our owne people for throwing Fire Balles, etc., for by all I cann observe it was *digitus dei* ; and when Cheapsyde was on Fire, not tenn men stood by helping or calling for helpe, I have beene an eye witness and cann verify this and 100 tymes more : The Lord Duke of Albemarle came to Towne last night, and I saw him this morneing ryde through the rubbish

in Fleetstreet, the Fleet is all at Portesmouth haveing suffered something by the late Storme, but will bee out againe wthin 8 dayes. I am goeing 25 myles to my owne howse in Essex for a litle refreshment, haveing beene 5 nights w^{thout} putting of my cloathes, some merchants was yesterday at Greshams Colledge in Bishoppsgate street, which escaped the Fire, and are now goeing to take Councell what they shall doe. An Alderman of London named S^r Richard Browne had a Chest wth about 10,000*l*. in it taken out of the Fire, for which he gave the men that ventured their lives 4*l*. But one Maior stepped upp with a hattfull of money, throwing it amongst the people to save Leadenhall, hee alone there under God gave a check to the Fire, the Duke of York hath wonn the hearts of the people wth his continuall and indefatigable paynes day & night in helping to quench the Fire, handing Bucketts of water with as much diligence as the poorest man that did assist, if the Lord Maior had donn as much, his Example might have gone Far towards saveing the Citty. I am

Y^{or} humble serv^t

John Rushworth.

September the 8th, 1666."

Three letters giving a graphic description of the Fire, with many particulars not elsewhere mentioned, are printed by Malcolm in his "Londinium Redivivum" (Vol. iv, pp. 73-82). They were written by a gentleman of the Middle Temple (the first two being dated the 24th and 29th September, 1666), and are printed from originals then in the possession of Richard Gough.

From these letters and other contemporary accounts, it appears that in the destruction caused by this terrible calamity, the general public opinion attributed its origin to the deliberate

acts of papists and foreign emissaries. This belief was intensified by the trial at the Old Bailey of the unhappy Hubert, who was charged upon his own confession with setting fire to the baker's house where the fire originated. He persisted in his story to the last moment of his execution. The testimony of competent enquirers points to the conclusion that he was a man of weak intellect, and that his guilt existed only in his imagination.

A committee* was appointed by the House of Commons on the 25th September, 1666, "to enquire into the causes of the late Fire;" and their report, issued on 22nd January, 1666-7, is entitled, "A true and faithful account of the several informations exhibited to the hon. Committee appointed by the Parliament to enquire into the late dreadful Firing of the City of London. Together with other informations touching the insolency of Popish priests and Jesuits and the increase of Popery; brought to the hon. Committee appointed by the Parliament for that purpose. Printed in the year 1667." The Report of the Committee is printed in Howell's State Trials, 1816, Vol. vi, coll. 807-866.

The result of this exhaustive enquiry was to entirely disprove the popular belief. The following memorandum by Williamson, Secretary of State, is preserved among the State Papers dated September, 1666 †:—"That after many careful examinations by Council and His Majesty's ministers, nothing has been found to argue the fire in London to have been caused by other than the hand of God, a great wind, and a very dry season."

Some writers went to the length of affirming that the Fire was intentionally caused by the Government itself, to purge the

* The Committee at first consisted of 45 persons, 23 were afterwards added, "and all the members that serve for the City." Sir Robert Brook was appointed chairman.

† Cal. of State Pap., Dom. ser. 1666-7, p. 175.

City from the plague, and re-construct it on a grander scale.* Another theory as to the cause of the Great Fire found expression in a curious memorial which was formerly put up on a house at Pye Corner in Smithfield, where the progress of the Fire was finally stayed. It represents the figure of a boy, described by Pennant † as "wonderful fat indeed." Across his breast and folded arms was the following inscription :—" This boy is in memmory put up for the late Fire of London occasion'd by the sin of gluttony 1666." A print of this figure was published on the 11th January, 1791, for J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of London*.

A fine description of the Great Fire occupies nearly one-third of Dryden's magnificent poem "*Annus Mirabilis, 1666*." ‡ The poem contains 304 stanzas, and after recounting the progress and varying successes of our naval war with Holland, under Prince Rupert and the Duke of Albemarle, proceeds, in the 209th stanza, to describe how

Swelled with our late successes on the foe,
Which France and Holland wanted power to cross,
We urge an unseen fate to lay us low,
And feed their envious eyes with English loss.

In a fine passage the poet likens the Fire to "some dire usurper," sent by Heaven "to scourge his country with a lawless sway," and continues :—

Such was the rise of this prodigious fire,
Which, in mean buildings first obscurely bred,
From thence did soon to open streets aspire
And straight to palaces and temples spread.

* *The City Remembrancer*, 1769, Vol. ii., p. 66.

† *Some Account of London*, 4th edition, 1805, p. 287.

‡ The text of the "*Globe*" edition of Dryden's Works has been followed.

The diligence of trade, and noiseful gain,
 And luxury, more late, asleep were laid ;
 All was the Night's, and in her silent reign
 No sound the rest of Nature did invade.
 In this deep quiet, from what source unknown,
 Those seeds of fire their fatal birth disclose ;
 And first, few scatt'ring sparks about were blown,
 Big with the flames that to our ruin rose.
 Then, in some close-pent room it crept along,
 And, smould'ring as it went, in silence fed ;
 Till th' infant monster, with devouring strong,
 Walk'd boldly upright with exalted head.

He next describes the progress made by the flames in the silent night, their rapid approach, fanned by the wind, to London Bridge, whence,—

The ghosts of traitors from the bridge descend,
 With bold fanatic spectres to rejoice,
 About the fire into a dance they bend,
 And sing their sabbath notes with feeble voice.*

“The crackling noise of dreadful flames” awake the slumbering citizens :—

Now streets grow thronged and busy as by day ;
 Some run for buckets to the hallowed quirc ;
 Some cut the pipes, and some the engines play,
 And some, more bold, mount ladders to the fire.

The fire then “wades the streets,” and the flames reach across to the opposite houses :—

At first they warm, then scorch, and then they take ;
 Now with long necks from side to side they feed ;
 At length, grown strong, their mother-fire forsake,
 And a new colony of flames succeed.

* This statement is a poetic licence, since the fire did not reach the tower upon which the traitors' heads were placed, this being near the Southwark end of London bridge.

One mighty squadron "by powerful charms of gold and silver," is led "the Lombard bankers and the Change to waste."

Another backward to the Tower would go,
And slowly eats his way against the wind.

At break of day the King appears upon the scene:—

Himself directs what first is to be done,
And orders all the succours which they bring;
The helpful and the good about him run,
And form an army worthy such a king.*

The attempts to check the fire by blowing up houses prove unsuccessful, and the despair of the rich who cannot save their wealth is next depicted:—

The rich grow suppliant, and the poor grow proud;
Those offer mighty gain, and these ask more.†

Those who still have homes invite their friends to share them, until their own destruction draws near:—

The most in fields, like herded beasts, lie down,
To dews obnoxious, on the grassy floor;
And while their babes in sleep their sorrows drown,
Sad parents watch the remnants of their store.

Then follows the King's supplicatory prayer:—

The Eternal heard, and from the heavenly quire
Chose out the cherub with the flaming sword,

* This is not flattery; and the Duke of York merited equal praise. "It is not indeede imaginable," says Evelyn, "how extraordinary the vigilance and activity of the King and the Duke was, even labouring in person, and being present to command, order, reward, or encourage workmen, by which he showed his affection to his people and gained theirs." (*Life and Writings*, 1819, Vol. i, p. 394.)

† "Any money is given for help, 5l., 10l., 20l., 30l., for a cart." Vincent, "God's terrible voice," 1667, p. 63.

And bade him swiftly drive the approaching fire,
From where our naval magazines were stored.

The flames, however, avenged themselves by preying upon
St. Paul's and on "pious structures by our fathers reared."

And now four days the Sun had seen our woes,
Four nights the Moon beheld the incessant fire ;
It seemed as if the stars more sickly rose,
And farther from the feverish North retire.

* * *

At length th' Almighty cast a pitying eye,
And mercy softly touched His melting breast ;
He saw the town's one half in rubbish lie
And eager flames give on to storm the rest.

A hollow crystal pyramid He takes,
In firmamental waters dipped above ;
Of it a broad extinguisher he makes,
And hoods the flames that to their quarry strove.

The vanquished fires withdraw from every place,
Or, full with feeding, sink into a sleep :
Each household Genius shows again his face,
And from the hearths the little Lares creep.

After noticing the King's care for the relief of the suffering
citizens—

The father of the people opened wide
His stores, and all the poor with plenty fed,—

the poet concludes with a description of the restoration of the city
to more than her former grandeur :—

Already, labouring with a mighty fate,
She shakes the rubbish from her mounting brow,
And seems to have renewed her charter's date,
Which Heaven will to the death of time allow.

More great than human now and more august,
 New deified she from her fires does rise :
 Her widening streets on new foundations trust
 And, opening, into larger parts she flies.

* * *

Now, like a maiden queen, she will behold,
 From her high turrets, hourly suitors come ;
 The East with incense and the West with gold
 Will stand like suppliants to receive her doom.

The silver Thames, her own domestic flood,
 Shall bear her vessels like a sweeping train,
 And often wind, as of his mistress proud,
 With longing eyes to meet her face again.

Samuel Pepys was an eye-witness of the conflagration, almost from its outbreak. Mounting one of the high buildings in the Tower, about ten o'clock on the morning of the 2nd of September, he beheld all the houses at the north end of London Bridge on fire, "and an infinite great fire on this, and the other side the end of the bridge." Going down to his friend, the Lieutenant, the latter told him that the Fire "began this morning in the king's baker's house in Pudding Lane, and that it hath burnt down St. Magnus's Church, and most part of Fish street, already." Thence he traced its course to the Old Swan, and the Steel yard, and making his way to Whitehall, he was summoned to tell the King and Duke of York what he had seen. From the King he received orders "to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. The Duke of York bid me tell him, that if he would have more soldiers, he shall ; and so did my Lord Arlington afterwards, as a great secret." His way lay by "Paul's," and down Watling Street, where he "at last met my

Lord Mayor in Canning Street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message,* he cried, like a fainting woman, 'Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it.' That he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night."

Pepys, continuing his walk on this awful Sunday, saw the churches "all filling with goods by people who themselves should have been quietly there by this time." In the afternoon he met the King and Duke of York in their barge, and saw the "river full of lighters and boats taking in goods, and good goods swimming in the water." Towards night he watched the growth of the fire from a little ale-house on the Bankside. It appeared "a most horrid malicious bloody flame, not like the flame of an ordinary fire." Later still, he "saw the fire as only one entire arch of fire . . . above a mile long." On Wednesday morning, being at Woolwich before day-break to place his gold in safety, he saw "the whole City almost on fire, as plain as if you were by it." Space will not

* The Lord Mayor at this critical time was Sir Thomas Bludworth, a man of blameless reputation, but wanting in the energy and decision of character necessary to cope with such a calamity. He also lacked the support of the citizens, who were more anxious to save their own goods than to act in concert for the general safety. Towards the close of his year of office he vindicated himself in a letter to Williamson, afterwards Secretary of State (Cal. of State Papers, 1666-7, pp. 167-8; compare also Malcolm's Lond. Red. Vol. iv, p. 74). Sir Thomas was elected alderman of Dowgate Ward in 1658, and afterwards removed to Aldersgate. He was sheriff of London in 1662. He lived at Camden House, Maiden Lane, and was a member of the Vintners' Company. Besides contributing £100 towards rebuilding Vintners' Hall after the Great Fire, he left, as a token of his respect for the Company, two silver bowls with covers, which are still in their possession. His daughter Mary became the wife of the notorious Jeffreys, afterwards Lord Chancellor.

allow of further quotations from Pepys's graphic description, which, with Evelyn's almost equally interesting account, is well known.*

In striking contrast with the feebleness of the lord mayor, were the energetic personal services rendered by the King and the Duke of York, in whose praise all writers agree. The chief causes of the rapid spread of the fire were the raging east wind which blew burning flakes in all directions, the haste of the inhabitants to save their goods, and their objections to blowing up such houses as were necessary to stop the progress of the flames. Besides this there was a scarcity of water, but had the supply been plentiful it is doubtful whether the feeble fire engines then in use would have availed to check the conflagration. In the Guildhall Museum can be seen the fire engine employed at Guildhall in 1687, twenty-one years after the fire, with two others belonging respectively to the ward of Aldgate (1672), and the parish of St. Dionis Backchurch. These "engines" are brass hand squirts, the largest being 3 feet long, with a diameter of 3 inches. The most valuable help which the citizens received was from the soldiers supplied by the Duke of York, who assisted in blowing up houses, by which means the progress of the fire was at length stopped.

As will be seen from the bibliography in the following chapter, there is no lack of contemporary accounts of the Great Fire. Ford, in his Latin and English poem, "Conflagratio Londinensis,"† thus describes its outbreak :—

The liquid Pitch in flaming clouds doth rowle,
 (The draught of Heaven shrivell'd to a scrowle,)
 And clammy lightnings in strange Figure, falls,
 Like sparks, from beaten Links at Funeralls.

* See List of Authorities, p. 114. † 2nd edit., 1667, pp. 8, 10.

The scared citizens, with trembling, gaze
 To watch the downfall of the hovering blaze :
 Till, where least fear'd, it lights ; and fatal showres
 Through Chimney-tops into their dwellings powres.
 Buckets, and Pumps they now for service press :
 The service hot, and dubious the success :
 They drain the Thames, and from the broken Lead
 Divert the streams which private dwellings fed,—
 Who dwelt together, now together burn ;
 And Houses mix'd, to mixed Ashes turn.—
 The Flames augmented by the Houses crowd,
 Its Hunger still encreasing with its Food.—
 Here ruinous cracks, there doleful shriekes do sound,
 And those that danger should unite, confound.

All writers concur in representing the Fire of London to have begun in Pudding Lane, a narrow thoroughfare crowded with old timber buildings.

The next place view'd was where the flame began,
 From empty'd Tripes called Pudding lane :
 And ne're (said she*) to greater honour rise,
 Thou source of London's Tragedies. †

The houses here were mostly of timber, were very closely built, and, according to the custom then prevailing, had constant and fierce fires kept in the hearths every night.

The insignificance of this spot, from whence originated so mighty a destruction, makes Rolle‡ compare its effects to “the killing of the great giant Goliah by a pibble-stone flung from the sling and arm of little David ; or the slaying of a thousand Philistines with the jaw-bone of an ass ; or, the throwing down the walls of Jericho with the sound of rams-horns.”

* The poet's muse. † Ford, *Londini quod Reliquum*, 1667, pp. 10-11.

‡ Burning of London, 1667, p. 99.

Another writer* speaking of Pudding lane says:—"This little pitttyfull lane, crowded in behind Little Eastcheap on the west, St. Buttolph's lane on the east, and Thames street on the south of it, was the place where the fire originated, and that, forwarded by a bakers stack of wood in the house, and by all the neighbouring houses, which were as so many matches to kindle and carry it on to its havock ; thus the fire, meeting with the Star inn on Fish street hill on the back of it, and that inn full of hay and other combustibles, and with the houses opposite to it, and closed with it at the top, burned three ways at once, into Thames street, (the lodge of all combustibles, oyl, hemp, flax, pitch, tar, cordage, hops, wines, brandies, and other materials favourable to fire ; all heavy goods being warehoused there near the waterside, and all the wharfs for coale, timber, wood, &c., being in a line consumed by it,) unto Fish street hill, till it met the other fire at the Bridge, to the interval of building, and to Butolph's lane into Mark lane in Tower street : and in all this savage progress met with no opposition from engines or other artifices ; because it was impossible, in such a strait, and in such a rage of fire, they should be serviceable. For, if all the engineers of mischief would have compacted the irremedyable burning of London, they could not have laid the scene of their fatal contrivance more desperately, to a probable success, than there where it was, where narrow streets, old buildings all of timber, all contiguous each to other, all stuffed with aliment for the fire, all in the very heart of the trade and wealth of the city ; these all concentrating in this place, put a great share of the mischief upon the choice of the place."

* Edward Waterhouse, in his "Short Narrative of the late dreadful Fire in London," 1667, pp. 47-8.

The *year* in which the fire happened is said, by Rolle,* to have completely falsified the prophesying then in fashion. "The idolized year should have been 66, a year of jubilee, I had almost said a time of the restitution of all things."

Waterhouse further exclaims against the *month*, as having been always distinguished for calamities:—"O day, O month, September! not more inauspicious to many famous cities: such as Jerusalem, begirt the seventh, and entred the eighth of September; such as Constantinople, which was wasted by fire anno 465 in the beginning of September; such as Heidleberg, which was taken by the Imperialists about 1622. And now, to London, in this fire of September, 1666."†

The particular *hour* (two o'clock on Sunday morning) was, Brookes observes, "very ominous, it being at a time when most citizens were but newly fallen into a dead sleep, being wearied out in their several employments several dayes before, but especially on Saturday (or the last day of the week), that being with very many the most busiest day in all the week: and of all mornings, most citizens did usually lye longest in bed Sabbath day mornings."‡

"'Twas at still midnight," says Wiseman's account, "when all was wrapt in a peaceful silence, and every eye shut up in quiet slumber, that this dreadfull fire brake forth, whose hidden flames at first obscurely crept within close limits; but quickly scorning to be so confined, in a bright blaze brake openly upon us. And now the voice of fire in every street—with horrid emphasis—is echoed forth: these dreadfull screams disturb our midnight quiet, and

* Burning of London, p. 90.

† Short Narrative, p. 83.

‡ London's Lamentations, 1670 (Application) pp. 32 3.

raise affrighted people from their beds, who scarce awake, all seems to be a dream.”*

The commencement and progress of the Fire are concisely, though but in very homely lines, summed up in Tabor's Seasonable Thoughts in Sad Times † :—

“ Upon September's second day, i'th' year
 Much talkt of Sixty-six, did there appear
 By two i' th' morning these consuming flames,
 Which did break out first in the street of Thames:
 And then blown on by a strong wind into
 The city, what e're art or strength could do
 Of men to stop, or slack its fury, by
 The Friday morning did in ruines lie
 The greatest part of that within the Wall,
 And much beside of that we Suburbs call:
 For it broke through Newgate, and went on
 To Holborn bridge, and had through Ludgate gone,
 Up Fleet street unto Temple bar before
 Its fury stopt, and did burn down no more.”

By the certificate of Jonas Moore and Ralph Gatrix, the surveyors appointed to examine the ruins, it appeared that the fire over-ran 373 acres of ground within the walls, and 63 acres 3 roods without the walls; 13,200 houses and 89 parish churches, besides chapels, were burnt; only 11 parishes within the walls escaped destruction, and only 75 acres 3 roods within the walls remained unburnt.

The damage caused by the Great Fire is estimated, in Strype's edition of Stow's Survey, ‡ to have amounted to £10,730,500. Pepys considers that the loss of annual rental in consequence of the destruction of houses was £600,000.

* Description of the Fatall and Dreadfull Burning of London, quoted in Thomson's *Chronicles of London Bridge*, p. 442. † 1667, p. 21. ‡ 1754, i, p. 280.

While the City lay in ruins several temporary conveniences were formed for the benefit of the public. Tabernacles were erected in various places for the conduct of divine worship. The gardens or walks of Gresham College were converted into an exchange for the merchants, and in its apartments also the public business of the City was transacted, instead of at the Guildhall; the first meeting of the Court of Aldermen after the fire being held there on Thursday afternoon, the 6th of September.* The Royal Society, being thus excluded from Gresham College, was removed to Arundel House. Special places were also appointed as temporary markets for provisions. The Excise Office was provided for in Southampton Fields, near Bedford House; the General Post Office was removed to Bridges street, Covent Garden; the affairs of the Custom House were transacted in Mark lane; the King's Wardrobe was removed from Puddle Wharf to York Buildings; and the official business of Doctors' Commons was transacted in Exeter House, in the Strand.

The temporary distress which the Fire had occasioned was ameliorated by the attention which the Government, the Corporation, and all classes of the community showed for the relief and comfort of the citizens. Persons whose houses had been destroyed were allowed to build sheds on London Bridge, in the Artillery Ground, and other vacant places. Tents were erected for the poor in Finsbury Fields.†

Moore-fields with piles of goods are fill'd, and there
Their owners lie abroad in th' open air.†

By the statute of 19 Charles II (1667), chap. 2, any three or more of the judges were constituted a Court of Judicature to hear and determine all differences respecting buildings destroyed by the

* Repertory 71, f. 168.

† Repertory 71, ff. 169, 170b.

‡ Tabor's Seasonable Thoughts, p. 25.

Fire. Their orders were to be final and binding to the parties and their representatives for ever. The Court sat at Clifford's Inn, and its judgments, extending from 1667 to 1673, are contained in a series of nine books, entitled Fire Decrees, which were deposited and still remain in the Guildhall under the custody of the Town Clerk. In gratitude to the judges for their assiduous labours the Corporation of London caused their portraits, painted in full-length by Michael Wright, to be set up in the Guildhall. Wright received for each portrait £60. Sir Peter Lely first received the commission, "but refusing to wait on the Judges at their own chambers, Wright got the business."* The names of the judges were:—

Sir Heneage Finch.
 Sir Orlando Bridgman.
 Sir Matthew Hale.
 Sir Richard Rainsford.
 Sir Edward Turner.
 Sir Thomas Tyrrell.
 Sir John Archer.
 Sir William Morton.
 Sir Robert Atkins.
 Sir Samuel Brown.
 Sir Edward Atkins.

Sir John Vaughan.
 Sir Francis North.
 Sir Thomas Twisden.
 Sir Christopher Turner.
 Sir William Wylde.
 Sir Hugh Windham.
 Sir William Ellys.
 Sir Edward Thurland.
 Sir Timothy Lyttleton.
 Sir John Kelynge.
 Sir Wadham Windham.

The anniversary of the great calamity was ordered to be observed as a day of civic humiliation by the statute 19 Charles II, chap. 3, sect. 28, which provided, "That the said citizens and their successors for all the time to come, may retaine the memoriall of soe sadd a desolation, and reflect seriously upon their manifold iniquities, which are the unhappy causes of such judgements: Be it further enacted, That the second day of

* Walpole's Anecdotes of Paintings, Works, 1798, Vol. iii, p. 309.

September (unless the same happen to be Sunday, and if soe then the next day following) be yearely for ever hereafter observed as a day of Publique fasting and humiliation within the said citty and libertyes thereof, to implore the mercies of Almighty God upon the said citty, to make devout prayers and supplication unto him, to divert the like calamity for the time to come."

The Lord Mayor and Corporation accordingly attended St. Paul's Cathedral each year in state. The Aldermen were summoned to meet in the Corporation vestry, in their scarlet gowns. The Lord Mayor and Sheriffs went from the Mansion House in state to St. Paul's, where they met the Aldermen, and proceeded into the choir to hear divine service and a sermon preached by the Lord Mayor's Chaplain. Afterwards the Lord Mayor and Aldermen returned to the Mansion House.* A list of some of the sermons preached on these occasions will be found on pages 109-110.

The special form of prayer appointed to be used appears in some Oxford prayer books, printed between 1681 and 1683. It was first issued for use "by his Majesties special command," on October 10, 1666, and contained, like other special forms, a hymn, instead of the Venite, proper Psalms and lessons, etc., but was without any special mention of the Fire or of the City of London. In 1696 it was revised and re-issued under Archbishop Tenison's authority, with a different hymn, and other changes, and with a Collect added which prayed for the preservation of the City from fire. The service was re-printed in a separate form by the King's printers from time to time, even as lately as the year 1821: and a Latin version of it is included in the Latin Prayer Book published

* Ceremonial Book, 1864, p. 125; cf. Diary of the Mayoralty of Micaiah Perry Lord Mayor 1738-9, 3rd September. (Guildhall Library, MS. 15.)

by Thomas Parsell, of which the last edition appeared in 1759. Its use was continued in St. Paul's Cathedral until the year 1859, when the observance of the day ceased, together with that of the State holydays abrogated by Parliament.*

By his will dated 31 July, 1672, Thomas Rich bequeathed a messuage and premises in Lime Street, the proceeds to pay for preaching two sermons in the church of St. Andrew Undershaft, one on New Year's day, and the other on the third Tuesday in September, in thankfulness to God for the preservation of the said parish from the dreadful fire in 1666.†

Rolle, in his London's Resurrection,‡ a series of religious discourses to encourage the re-building of London, thinks "That the ruinous heap, or that chaos which we now call London, will be once again a goodly city," because :—First, There is no scripture denunciation to the contrary, as in the case of Nineveh and Babylon. Second, he sees the citizens "as busie as so many ants hastning to and from their several mole-hills," and not a few so intent, that although coals were three or four pounds a chaldron, and bricks and timber at an excessive rate, all would not beat them off from building. And Third, because "you might see by the respect which citizens paid, and yet do pay, to the dust and ruines of London, how they hanker after it, not for what it is, but for what they hoped it shall be. They visit the ruins yearly, call every parish by its former name, observe its bounds, chuse officers upon the very place, chuse aldermen and their deputies for every ward that is unsupplied, nominate churchwardens, constables, etc., as if it might be said of London, as was said of Lazarus, that he was not dead, but slept."

* The Annotated Book of Common Prayer, edited by the Rev. J. H. Blunt, 1884, pp. 704-5.

† Reports of the Charity Commissioners, Vol. xxiii, p. 185. ‡ 1668, pp. 2, 9, 10 & 19.

He comforts his readers, by observing that, "though there be but 800 houses finished (and some think there be more), yet it is a good and great progress, all things considered: it being now March 12, 1667, and not much above one year and half since the Fire."

The immediate danger over, preparations for re-building the City at once began. The King issued a proclamation on the 13th September for a general fast and humiliation, and for collections to be made in all churches and chapels for the benefit of the poor. He also prohibited the erection of "hasty and unskilful buildings," or the use of any other material than stone or brick for building, ordering a survey of the City to be made, and promising to "cause a plot or model to be made for the whole building through those ruined places."*

In order to encourage workmen in the various branches of the building trade to use their best efforts to prosecute the re-building of the City with all speed, the Act of 1667 provided that "foreigners" or non-freemen should have the liberty to work in these trades for the space of seven years from 1667, and afterwards until the City should be finished. If they completed the term of seven years, they were to retain the same privilege for life. (19 Charles II, chap. 3, sec. 18) This regulation is supposed to be typified by the figure of Liberty in Cibber's sculpture described on page 26.

This Act was the outcome of communications which had previously passed between the King and his Ministers, and the Courts of Aldermen and Common Council.†

* For particulars as to the effect of this proclamation on the citizens, see Howell's State Trials, 1816, col. 838 note.

† See Journal 46, ff. 129b, 132b-133b; Repertory 72, ff. 2, 8, 21, 43 *et seq.*, 81b; Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Series, 1666-7, p. 469.

A further proclamation from the King was issued from Whitehall on 26th September, 1668, "touching the charitable collections for the relief of the poor, distressed by the late dismal fire in the City of London."* This was followed, in 1670, by an additional Act (22 Charles II, cap. 11), for re-building the City, its Cathedral and churches.

Provision was made by both Acts for re-building St. Paul's Cathedral and the parish churches out of part of the proceeds of the duty of one shilling per chaldron on coals, which was to continue till 1677. The duty was increased in 1670 to three shillings per chaldron, and extended to 1687; on its expiry a further Act was passed fixing the amount at eighteen-pence per chaldron. One-fifth of the original duty was to be devoted to re-building the parish churches; the number of these was first fixed at thirty-nine, but was afterwards increased to fifty-one, to be selected by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London.† The correspondence on this subject, with the report of the prelates and the list of churches decided upon, is preserved in the Harleian MS. 4941, 66E.

Amongst other improvements, the Act of 1667 endeavoured to correct the inequalities of ground in the old sites of lanes and buildings about the waterside. Such had been the steepness of the Thames bank between Watling Street and the river, that the fire chiefly spread in that direction, because the water from the high streets rushed down in torrents so rapidly, that it was found impossible to catch it to quench the flames. "For preventing inundations and for easiness of ascent," therefore, it was enacted, "That the street called Thames Street, and all the ground between the same street

* For particulars concerning the collection and distribution of this money, see MSS. 271, 274, 296-298, Guildhall Library.

† Clifford's Private Bill Legislation, 1887, Vol. 2, pp. 366-371.

and the river Thames, should be raised and made higher by three feet.

New Fish Street was widened "from St. Magnus church to the Conduit in Gracechurch Street." All the other principal streets were also widened, "that the great and many inconveniences which were found," says Rolle, "in and by the narrowness of Thames Street, and some others, might be amended." And the houses, he tells his readers, were carried up higher than before, in order to the gaining of more room ; "those *latitudinarian* streets requiring *altitudinarian* houses," as he quaintly remarks.

Both the survey of the ruins and the model or plan for re-building the City were placed by the King in the hands of Sir Christopher Wren. This plan, could it have been carried out, would, as stated in the "Parentalia," have made "the new city the most magnificent, as well as commodious for health and trade of any upon earth." One of the greatest improvements was the intended re-construction, not only of the spacious quay which had existed in the parish of St. Michael, Crooked Lane, in the days of Fitzstephen, but the continuation of a similar quay along the whole northern bank of the Thames, from the Tower to the Temple.

Wren's plan was to have left the part of this terrace between Billingsgate and Dowgate of nearly double the width of the rest ; to have opened a large space between the Bridge foot and Crooked Lane, which would have widened the confined corners of Upper and Lower Thames Streets ; and to have terminated the area with a semi-circular piazza, ranging with Crooked Lane and Monument Yard, from which were to diverge principal streets to various parts of the metropolis.

The illustration of this design, at page 57, will show how great would have been its advantages. Sir John Evelyn also

prepared a plan* which would have restored the city to a state of much greater grandeur and convenience. Both of these plans were, however, prevented from being carried out by the obstinate objections of the citizens to alter their properties, or allow their houses to be re-built otherwise than on the old foundations.†

Many writers have recorded the so-called "prophecies" of this terrible visitation. In the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1792,‡ a prophecy of the destruction of the City of London by fire is quoted from a book by Walter Gostelo printed in 1658, entitled, "The coming of God in mercy, in vengeance, beginning with fire, to convert and consume this sinful City of London." Mother Shipton had also predicted "That London in sixty-six should be in ashes," and the author of a letter, written in 1666 and printed in Malcolm's *Londinium Redivivum*,§ states: "Most of our last year's almanacks talked of fire in London, and one named the month, but it was expunged by L'Estrange (who licensed them) for fear of consequences."||

However grievous a calamity to the inhabitants of that period, and lamentable as was the destruction which it occasioned to records, books, and works of art, the Great Fire was, in its after consequences, a great blessing to the City and its inhabitants. It stamped out the plague from which London had only been free for three years out of the previous seventy and more. Maitland,

* See Maitland's *History of London*, 1756, i, 447.

† An excellent and concise description of these two plans is given in Brayley's "London and Middlesex," Vol. i, pp. 436-441.

‡ Vol. ix, pt. 2, p. 897.

§ Vol. iv, p. 80.

|| Notices of other similar prophecies will be found in *Gent.'s Mag.*, 1831, pt. 2, p. 6; *Notes and Queries*, 1st series, Vol. vii, pp. 79-80, 173-4; Vol. xi, p. 341; Vol. xii, p. 102. See also Brayley's "History of London and Middlesex," Vol. i, pp. 403-4.

writing in 1755, says "there's no place in the kingdom, where the inhabitants enjoy a better state of health, or live to a greater age, than the citizens of London."* Walford, in his "Insurance Cyclopædia," mentions other advantages which were brought about by the fire :—"1. The actual adoption of Fire Insurance in England, commencing in the metropolis the very next year ; and 2. its more general diffusion through Europe. The Municipal Fire Casse of Hamburg was set on foot in 1667, and the lesson of London's Great Fire induced measures of fire protection in every principal city and town in Europe." †

* History of London, 1755, Vol. i, pp 437-8.

† Vol. iv, p. 40.





VIEW OF THE MONUMENT, MONUMENT YARD, AND FISH STREET HILL, ABOUT 1720 A.D.

From an Old Print preserved in the Guildhall Library.



CHAPTER V.

VIEWS, BIBLIOGRAPHY, AND AUTHORITIES.



ONLY one medal is known to have been struck in commemoration of the Great Fire of London. This unique medal is thus described in "Medallic Illustrations of the History of Great Britain and Ireland to the death of George II ; compiled by the late Edward Hawkins, F.R.S., F.S.A., and edited by Augustus W. Franks, F.R.S., F.S.A., and Herbert A. Grueber ; published by the Trustees of the British Museum," 1885 ; Vol i, pp. 525-6:—" *Obverse*. A shrine, enclosing a crucifix, beneath the name of Jehovah, in Hebrew, radiate ; at the sides, cornfield and vineyard ; before it, on an island, a shepherd feeding his flock, and a tranquil river. In the foreground, St. Paul shaking the viper from his hand. *Leg.* MERA BONITAS. (Pure goodness). *Reverse*. A city, one half in flames, the other under a storm of hail ; in front, disturbed river, leafless tree, and Death and a warrior contending on horseback. Above, the Eye of Providence, comets, and storms of wind. *Leg.* SIC PVNIT. (So he punishes.) *Ex.* MDCLXVI.

This small medal must have been struck in remembrance of the Plague and the Fire, and of the mercy of Providence by

which these evils had been removed. On one side are seen the plague, the pestilence and war, by which God punishes ; on the other, the blessings of Peace and Plenty, and the removal of the venomous plague—all the effects of His pure loving-kindness.”



The accompanying view of this interesting medal is taken from electrotypes of the illustrations in the work above quoted, which have been kindly furnished by the Trustees of the British Museum, through the courtesy of E. Maunde Thompson, Esq., Principal Librarian.



ORIGINAL VIEWS OF THE FIRE OF LONDON.

There is a painting at Painter Stainers' Hall, on a large scale, showing the whole City, from the Thames, at the height of the Fire. It was painted and presented to the Company by Waggoner.* A poor engraving of this picture was executed by Peter Mazell, for Pennant's History of London (1790, p. 303). Gough mentions a painting by Thomas Wyck, not engraved, which Granger saw in Berkshire. He also mentions "the picture

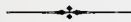
* See Notes and Queries, 3rd Ser., Vol. vi, p. 453.

of the most famous City of London as it appeared in the night in the height of its ruinous condition," engraved on page 16 of some book which he cannot further specify.*

An original painting of the Fire, formerly belonging to Robert Gosden, Esq., was engraved by W. Birch, on 1st December, 1792, for the Antiquarian Repertory.† It is described as "painted by Old [J.] Griffier at the time of the Fire; and is taken just west of Ludgate, showing the ruins of Ludgate prison, with St. Paul's and Bow Church in the background, the former having just caught alight." Wilkinson, in his "Londina Illustrata" (1811, vol. 1, No. 3, sheet LI), gives an engraving from another original picture, in the possession of Mrs. Lawrence, which he thinks is a contemporary painting. It represents Lud-gate as just having caught fire, with St. Paul's and Bow Church in full flame in the distance.

A view of London in flames is found on the deuce of clubs in an ancient pack of cards, illustrating the Popish plot, described in the Gentleman's Magazine of 1814.‡ Beneath the view of London is printed:—

London remember }
The 2^d of September } 1666.



MAPS AND PRINTS OF THE FIRE OF LONDON.

A view of London in flames. Engraved by Cornelius Visscher, 1666.

Reprinted in Chambers's Book of Days, Vol. ii, p. 302.

A true and exact prospect of the famous City of London from S. Marie Overs steeple in Southwarke in its flourishing condition before the Fire. Another prospect of the sayd City

* British Topography, Vol. i, p. 705. † 1808. Vol. ii, p. 150.

‡ Vol. 84, pt. i, p. 4.

- taken from the same place as it appeareth now after the sad calamitie and destruction by fire, in the yeare M.DC.LXVI. Designed [and engraved] by W. Hollar of Prage: Boh^{en}, 1666.
- A map or ground plot of the City of London and the surburbes thereof, that is to say, all which is within the iurisdiction of the Lord Mayor or properlie calld Londō by which is exactly demonstrated the present condition thereof since the last sad accident of fire. By W. Hollar. Sould by John Overton at the White horse, in Little Brittain, next doore to little S. Bartholomewgate, 1666.
- A new and exact map of Great Britannie, with a map of London and Westminster, before the fire, and a prospect of the City of London as it appeared in the time of the flames. Engraved by W. Hollar.
- De brandt van London, op den 12, 13, 14, 15 en 16 September anno 1666.
- Platte grondt der Stadt London met de Aenwysinghe hoe die afgebrandt is. Tot Amsterdam gedruckt by Frederick de Wit inde Calverstraet by den Dam inde Witte Paskaert.
- Platte grondt der Verbrande Stadt London. Tot Amsterdam, by Marcus Willemsz Doornick, Boeckverkooper op den Vygendam, 1666.
- Platte grondt der Stadt London met nieuw Model en hoe die afgebrandt is. Tot Amsterdam gedruckt by Frederick de Wit inde Calverstraet by den Dam inde Witte Paskaert.
- Delineation of the Citie London, shewing how far the said Citie is burnt down, and what places doe yet remain standing. [Same title in Dutch and French]. Tot Amsterdam, by Marcus Willemsz Doornick, Boeckverkooper op den Vygendam, 1666. [A view of London in flames.]

A coloured plan of London showing the extent of the Fire, with a design for re-construction, and a small view of the City in flames. Letterpress the same as in the preceding.

Platte grondt der Stadt London met nieuw Model en hoe die afgebrandt is. T'Amsterdam, by Frederick de Wit, Kaerten Konst-Verkoper in de Kalverstraet, by den Dam, inde witte Pascaert.

Londons fier began September the Second, 1666. To be sold by Tho: Parkhurst, Nath: Ranew, and Jonath: Robinson.

A true pourtraict with a brief description of that deplorable Fire of London. Befallen the 12, 13, 14, 15 and 16 Sept. 1666. [Title also in French and Dutch.]

Platte grondt der Stadt London. Afbelding van de Stadt London. Sic transit gloria mundi, London. [A large print of the Fire.]

A small print showing the burning of Old St. Paul's, and a priest, with motto: "Now, London, remember 66."

Another view of the burning of St. Paul's. "Etiam periere ruinae." W. Hollar, *fec.* A°: 1666.

A small view of London in flames, taken from the Bankside, 'Londons fier began September the second 1666. Etiam periere ruinae.' To be sold by Tho. Parkhurst, Nath. Ranew, and Jonathã Robinson.

Part of London as it appeared during the dreadful Fire in the reign of Charles II, 1666. Wale *del.*, Taylor *sculp.* Pub. by Alex. Hogg, 16, Paternoster-row [for Harrison's and Thornton's Histories of London].

A plan of London in Q. Elizabeth's days. The south prospect of London as it appear'd when it lay in ruins after that dreadful fire in 1666. Printed for J. Bowles at No. 13 in Cornhill.

An exact map representing the condition of the late famous and flourishing City of London as it lyeth in its ruins ; whearin you may see what churches, halls and places of note, with a multitude of houses y^t weare burnt and ruinate in four dayes time by that dreadfull & lamentable fire, which begun in Pudding lane the 2^d of September 1666. Licensed November 18, 1667, Roger L'estrage. Are to be sould by Robert Pricke, in Whitecrosse street, neare Cripplegate church.

An exact surveigh of the streets, lanes, and churches comprehended within the ruines of the city of London, first described in six plats, 10 Decemb., 1666, by the order and directions of the right hon. the lord mayor, aldermen, and common councill of the said city ; John Leake, John Jennings, Willm. Marr, Willm. Leybourn, Thomas Streete, Richard Shortgrave, Surveyors, and reduced into one intire plat, by John Leake, for the use of the Commissioners for the regulation of streets, lanes, &c. Dedicated by Geo. Vertue to the Society of Antiquaries, 1723.

A plan of the City of London after the Great Fire in the year of our Lord, 1666, with the modell of the new city, according to the design and proposal of S^r Christopher Wren, K^t, &c. Copied from a very scarce print in the possession of the Earl of Pembroke, 1744, by T. Fourdrinier.

Londinium redivivum : three plans presented by Mr. John Evelyn to the King a week after the fire, with a discourse. [These plans were engraved for the Society of Antiquaries, 1748.]

A plan for rebuilding the City of London after the Great Fire in 1666, design'd by that great architect S^r Christopher Wren; and approv'd of by King and Parliament, but unhappily defeated by faction. By J. Gwynn. Publish'd October 3^d 1749, and sold by the proprietors at Palladio's Head in Long Acre.

Vues de la ville de Londres comme il estoit devant et après l'incendie de 1666. Avec le Plan la rebâtir, projeté par ce grand architecte le Chevalier Christophe Wren, et approuvé par le Roi et Parlement ; mais malheureusement rejetté par faction. Publié par Jean Rocque, chorographe de son altesse royale le Prince de Galles, 1758. (Reproduced at page 57.)

A plan of the City and Liberties of London, shewing the extent of the dreadful conflagration in the year 1666. Engrav'd for Noorthouck's History of London, 1772.

London after the Fire, Anno Domini 1666. Engraved by Neele. Published by J. Stockdale, Piccadilly, 1796.

General plan of that part of the City of London which was destroyed by the Great Fire of 1666, showing also the present state thereof. Constructed from authentic documents and recent surveys by Francis Whishaw. London, William Darton & Son, Holborn Hill.

VIEWS OF THE MONUMENT.

"The Monument of London, hight 202 feet, built in memory of y^e Fire of London," with a view of Monument Yard, the signs of the neighbouring houses, and many figures, carts, coaches, etc. *Circ.* 1720. (Reproduced at page 89.)

Columna Londinensis, qua sol majorem non vidit : ex architectura Dⁿⁱ Christophori Wren Eq^s. Aur. N. Hawksmoor *del.*, 1723. H. Hulsbergh, *sculp.* With statue of Charles II.

- View of the upper part of the Column and of Cibber's sculpture.
Gentleman's Magazine, December, 1749.
- View of the Monument erected in memory of the dreadful fire in the year 1666. Published according to Act of Parliament, 1752.
 Canaleti, *del.*, G. Bickham, *sculp.* Brit. Mus. Christie Coll.
- The Monument, Fish Street Hill. A similar view to that first described, with fewer figures and brief description on two scrolls at the top. Sutton Nicholls, *sculp.*, 1754.
- The Stationers' almanack for the year MDCCLXIX. [With view of Cibber's sculpture on the west front of the Monument.]
 N. G. Goodnight, *sculp.*
- The Monument at London built by S^r Christopher Wren, anno 1677.
 W. Lowry, *sculp.* Printed for I. & J. Taylor, High Holborn, London, Feb. 10, 1791.
- View of Fish Street Hill, from Grace Church Street, representing the Monument and the church of St. Magnus, London Bridge. Painted by William Marlow, F.S.A., 1792, engraved by Thos. Morris, published by John Curtis, 4th November, 1795.
- View of the Monument and Fish Street Hill. Published Feb. 17, 1795, by John Curtis, Twickenham. William Marlow, *del.*, Thomas Morris, *sculp.* Crowle's Pennant, Brit. Mus.
- The Monument. Published March 31st, 1798, by T. Malton.
- The Monument. Drawn and engraved by W. Poole, for Lambert's History of London. Published by T. Hughes, Stationers' Court, Nov., 1805.
- Fish Street Hill, looking north ; with the church of St. Magnus, and the Monument. Gyfford *del.*, Roffe *sculp.*, published by J. Stratford, 1807.

View on Fish Street Hill, including the Monument, St. Magnus's Church, etc., London. Engraved by J. Le Keux, from a drawing by J. R. Thompson, for the Beauties of England and Wales. Published by Vernor, Hood & Sharpe, Poultry, November 1st, 1809.

The Monument, a coloured view, showing Fish Street Hill and Old London Bridge. No. 40, of R. Ackermann's Repository of Arts. Published 1 April, 1812, at 101, Strand.

Le Monument. Baugean, Souvenirs de Londres en 1814 et 1816.

The Monument. Drawn and engraved by J. Greig for the "Walks through London." Published by W. Clarke, New Bond Street, January 1, 1817.

A coloured view of the Monument. *Circ.* 1824.

The Monument, London. T. H. Shepherd, *del.*, C. Fenn, *sculp.*

Monument. T. Dewint, *del.*, Chas. Heath, *sculp.* Published by Hurst, Robinson & Co., 1825.

Inscriptions engraven on the base of the Monument descriptive of the burning and rebuilding of London with the celebrated inscription round the plinth of the column, erased by order of the Com. Council Sep. 26, 1831. Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, 1834.

Sculpture in basso-rilievo, executed by Caius Gabriel Cibber, on the western front of the base of the Monument, in commemoration of the Fire of London. Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, 1834.

An original pencil sketch of Fish Street Hill, by W. Dayes, taken from the north side of the Monument and showing the pedestal only. Brit. Mus. Christie Collection.

Elevation of the great column of London, commonly call'd the Monument, in memory of the burning of the City, A.D. 1666. According to the first design of the architect S^r Chr. Wren, K^t representing a pillar in flames, H. Hulsbergh, *sculp.* [A similar inscription in Latin.] Printed for Sam. Harding, Dan. Browne and Wm. Bathoe.

“The Monument of London in remembrance of the dreadfull Fire in 1666. Its height is 202 feet.” (A similar description in French). Published according to Act of Parliament. Bowles, *del. et sculp.*

A view of the Monument of London in remembrance of the dreadful fire in 1666. Its height is 202 feet. [Also in French.] London, printed for F. West, 83, Fleet Street.

Le Monument érigé en mémoire du grand incendie de Londres.

The Monument, W. H. Toms, *sculp.*

The Monument, with a view of Monument Yard, within a border.

The Monument, T. Hulett, *sculp.*

View of the Monument. Dayes, *del.*, Audinet, *sculp.*

A representation of the carved work on the west side of the pedestal of the Monument of London. Sold by John Bowles opposite to Stocks Market and at Mercers' Hall in Cheapside. (Reproduced at page 25.)

View of London Bridge, including the church of St. Magnus and the Monument. Jos^h Farington, R.A, *del.*, J. C. Stadler, *fec.* Crowle's Pennant, Brit. Mus.

A new draught and description of the Fire Engine. A large print, with views of the Exchange, Monument, etc. Crowle's Pennant, Brit. Mus.

In perpetuam memoriam celeberrimae urbis flammis propè desolatae
 A°: prodigioso 1666, columna haec, ex basi 27 ped. in altitudinem
 202 ped : sublime caput elevat . . . W. Lodge, *del.* ;
 W. Faithorne, *excud.* Crowle's Pennant, Brit. Mus.

The same. Engraved by P. Tempest. Crowle's Pennant, Brit. Mus.



BIBLIOGRAPHY.—THE MONUMENT.

The column called the Monument, described, erected to perpetuate the dreadful Fire of London in the year 1666: of the rebuilding the City, under the inspection of that great architect Sir Christopher Wren, Knt. ; together with the building, dimensions, inscriptions, and all that is necessary to be known of this famous pillar. To which is added some account of the devastation of that Fire and the loss computed. [By Samuel Arnott, keeper.] pp. 22. 12° *London* [1805].

History of the Monument of London from its completion by Sir Christopher Wren, until the present time ; with translations of the different historical Latin inscriptions ; narrative of the various remarkable occurrences ; and every other interesting notice relative to this matchless Doric column. To which is added an official memoir of the Fire of London, in remembrance of which awful event the Monument was erected. Printed for John Bleaden, keeper of the Monument.

pp. 34. 12° *London* [1833?]

History of the Monument of London from its completion by the celebrated Sir Christopher Wren until the present time: with translations of the different historical Latin inscriptions. To

which is added an official memoir of the Fire of London : in remembrance of which awful event the Monument was erected. Printed for Thomas Woodward, keeper of the Monument.

pp. 24. 12° *London* [1865?].

Suicide of a young female [Miss Moyes] by throwing herself off the Monument [with a view.] Sept. 11, 1839. Birt, printer.

The same. Printed by H. Paul.

Suicide of a youth, about 15 or 16, by throwing himself from the Monument, 18th October, also the suicide of Miss Moyes, 11th September. 12° *London*, 1839.

Another horrible suicide from the Monument [with a view]. The Penny Paul Pry, Sept. 26, 1839.

The authentic particulars of another most determined and frightful suicide of a youth, apparently about 15 or 16 years of age, by throwing himself from the Monument, at 5 o'clock of the evening of Friday, October the 18th, 1839, with every accurate account of this terrific circumstance [with a view.] Published by G. Gilbert, 2, Green-arbour Court, Old Bailey.

pp. 7. 12° *London*, 1839.

Coroner's inquest, held on the body of Robert Donaldson Hawes, who committed self-destruction by throwing himself off the Monument [on the 18th October, 1839]. Printed by H. Paul.

Another appalling catastrophe at the Monument [with a view of a youth precipitating himself from the platform.] Published by E. Lloyd for J. Graves, printer.

History of the life and adventures of a mouse, written by himself.

pp. 14. 12° *London* [1847].



BIBLIOGRAPHY.—FIRE OF LONDON.

- By the King [Charles II]. A proclamation for a general fast [on account of the fire of London, dated] September 13.
broadside, London, 1666.
- His Majesty's declaration to his city of London, upon occasion of the late calamity by the lamentable fire. f° *London, 1666.*
- Declaration of His Majesty to his city of London upon occasion of the late calamity by the lamentable fire. f° 1666.
- Letter of King Charles II, concerning the relief of the public distress caused by the late Fire of London. 4° sh. 1666.
- Order of the Lord Mayor [Weld] for re-building the City after the Fire. *broadside. London, 1666.*
- Confirmation by the Privy Council of the Lord Mayor's order for re-building the City after the great fire. *broadside. London, 1667.*
- A form of Common Prayer. To be used on Wednesday the Tenth day of October next, throughout the whole Kingdom of England, and Dominion of Wales, being appointed by His Majesty a day of Fasting and Humiliation, in consideration of the late dreadful Fire which wasted the greater part of the City of London . . . 4° *London, 1666.*
- London's destroyer detected, and destruction lamented; or some serious ruminations and profitable reflections upon the late dreadful, dismal, and never-to-be-forgotten conflagration: wherein is briefly comprehended several things considerable, in order to London's present recovery and future prosperity. 4° *London, 1666.*
- London undone; or, a Reflection upon the late disastrous Fire. [In verse]. f° *London, 1666.*

Londinenses lacrymae ; London's second tears mingled with her ashes. By John Crouch. 4^o London, 1666.

Vox Civitatis : or London's call to her natural and adopted children : exciting them to her speedy reedification. [In verse]. f^o London, 1666.

Experimental proposal, how the king may have money to pay and maintain his fleets, with ease to the people. How London may be rebuilt, the proprietors satisfied, the money lent at six per cent. fitting it up . . . By Sir John Ford. 4^o London, 1666.

A brief account of the maintenances arising by the tithes . . . and other profits, to the several ministers of the parish-churches demolished by the fire of London. f^o sh. London, 1666.

In tristissimum immanissimumque urbis Londinensis monas circiter Sept.—LXVI. incendium, carmen lugubre. f^o London, 1666.

Breve relacion del horroroso incendio que ha padecido la ciudad de Londres . . . 4^o Sevilla, 1666.

Londens Puyn-hoop, oft Godts Handt over der selve in 't verbranden der Stadt, den 12, 13, 14, 15 en 16 van Herfstmaent, 1666 . . . 4^o 1666.

A true and exact relation of the most dreadful and remarkable fires that have happened since the reign of King William the Conqueror, to this present year 1666, in the cities of London and Westminster and other parts of England.

s. sh. f^o London, 1666.

Egentlig beskrivelse om den forfaerdelige oc store ildebrand som hafver varit i fem gandske dage och moren odelagt den vitberømte och rige Stad Londen i Engeland, som er uddragen af en skrifvelse, kommen fra Londen, til en god Venhvor ude optoegnis alle Straeder Gader och Kircker som ere lagde i aske. 2 leaves, 4^o 1666.

- A relation of the late dreadful Fire in London, as it was reported to the Committee in Parliament. By Samuel Rolles. 8° *London*, 1667.
- God's terrible voice to the City by plague and fire . . . By Thomas Vincent. 12° *London*, 1667.
- [This excellent account of the fire was very popular in its day ; no less than thirteen editions of it were published within five years.]
- Informations concerning the Burning of the City of London with Observations on the Burning of it. 8° *London*, 1667.
- A short narrative of the late dreadful Fire in London. By Edward Waterhous. 8° *London*, 1667.
- An essay on the late fire and ruins of London. By E. Settle. *Oxon, Lond.*, 1667.
- Observations both historical and moral upon the burning of London, September 1666. By Rege Sincera. 4° *London*, 1667.
[Reprinted in the Harleian Miscellany. Vol. iii, pp. 295-307.]
- London's flames discovered, by informations taken before the Committee appointed to enquire after the burning of the city of London, and after the insolency of the Papists . . . 4° *London*, 1667.
- A true and faithful account of the several informations exhibited to the Committee appointed by Parliament to enquire into the late dreadful burning of the City of London. 4° *London*, 1667.
[Reprinted in Lord Somers's tracts, 4th Collection. Vol. ii, pp. 1-23.]
- Counsel to the afflicted . . . Occasioned by the dreadful fire in the City of London . . . 8° 1667.
- De urbis Londini incendio elegia ; accedit etiam ad eandem urbem et ad Britanniam carmen heroicum. By William Smith. 4° *London*, 1667.

- A poem on the burning of London. s. sh. f^o. *York*, 1667.
- Upon the Fire of London, and the Plague. A Latin poem in heroic verse. By Joshua Barnes. [‘Several dramatique pieces.’] 8^o. *London*, 1679.
- Seasonable thoughts in sad times: being some reflections on the warre, the pestilence, and the burning of London considered in the calamity, cause and cure. [In verse.] By John Tabor. 8^o. *London*, 1667.
- Conflagratio Londinensis poetice depicta. The conflagration of London; poetically described both in Latin and English. [By Simon Ford, D.D.] 1st and 2nd editions. 4^o. *London*, 1667.
- Londini quod reliquum, or London’s remains, in Latin and English. [By Dr. Ford.] 4^o. *London*, 1667.
- A short and serious narrative of London’s fatal fire, with its diurnal and nocturnal progression . . . a poem; as also London’s lamentation to her regardless passengers. 4^o. *London*, 1667.
- Actio in Londini incendiarios. [By Dr. Ford.] 4^o. *London*, 1667.
- Annus mirabilis: the year of wonders, 1666. An historical poem . . . [By John Dryden.] 8^o. *London*, 1667.
- Upon the late lamentable fire in London. In an humble imitation of the most incomparable Mr. Cowley his Pindarick strain. By J. A., of Kings Colledge in Camb. Fellow. 4^o. *London*, 1667.
- Ἀκαμαστον πύρ, or the . . . burning of London . . . [A poem by J. G. M. A.] 4^o. *London*, 1667.
- Pyrotechnica Loyolana, Ignatian fire-works; or the fiery Jesuits’ temper and behaviour . . . exposed to publick view for the sake of London. 4^o. *London*, 1667.
- Jesuites fireworks: the burning of London. 8^o. *London*, 1667.

- Rebukes for sin by God's burning anger . . . By T[homas]
D[oolittle] 12^o *London*, 1667.
- The countries sense of London's sufferings in the late most
lamentable fire; discovered in the opening and improving the
lamentations of Jeremy; and in the resolving of three ques-
tions, not onely suitable to that sad dispensation, but con-
siderable also in all grievous afflictions. By W.T. a well-wisher
to the city, and to those that suffer with it. 8^o *London*, 1667.
- England's warning: or England's sorrow for London's misery.
[A description of the Great Fire and a list of the parishes
burnt.] 12^o *London*, 1667.
- שלהבתיה: or, the burning of London in the year 1666; commemo-
rated and improved in a CX discourses, meditations, and contem-
plations, by Samuel Rolle. 4 parts in 1 vol. 8^o *London*, 1667.
- London's resurrection, or the rebuilding of London encouraged,
directed, and improved. In fifty discourses . . . By Samuel
Rolle, minister of the gospel . . . 8^o *London*, 1668.
- Londini renascentis imago poetica, ad Serenissimum Britanniarum
Monarcham Carolum II. [By Dr. Ford.] 4^o *London*, 1668.
- London's resurrection poetically represented, and humbly presented
to his most sacred Majesty. [By Dr. Ford.] [Translated
from the Latin.] 4^o *London*, 1669.
- Conflagration of London poetically delineated and directed to the
most noble and deserving citizen, Sir J[ohn] L[awrence],
Knight and Baronet. 4^o *London*, 1668.
- Flagellum Dei; or, a collection of the several fires, plagues, and
pestilential diseases that have hapned in London especially . . .
4^o 1668.
- The re-building of the City of London. A poem. 4^o 1669.

An Act of 22 and 23 Car. ii. C. xv. S. ii. entitled ; An Act for the better settlement of the maintenance of the parsons, vicars and curates in the parishes of the City of London burnt by the late dreadful fire there. f^o. *London*, 1670.

London's lamentations, or a discourse concerning its late fiery dispensation. By Thomas Brookes. 8^o. *London*, 1670.

[Iter Boreale:] Upon the rebuilding the city, the right honourable the lord mayor and the noble company of Batchelors dining with him, May 5, 1669. [By Robert Wild, D.D.] 12^o. *London*, 1670.

An humble remonstrance to the King and Parliament in the behalf of many decayed and decaying citizens and families of London, occasioned solely by the dreadful fire of that city . . . per Philanthropus Philagathus. 4^o. *London*, 1675.

An Act [of Common Council] declaring what streets and streight narrow passages within the City of London . . . burnt down in the dismall fire, shall be enlarged . . . 2 *sheets*.

An Act for enforcing the taking down and removing of all sheds, shops and other buildings erected since the Fire in Smith-Field, Moor-Fields, and other void places within the city. (Taylor collection of broadsides, No. 87, Guildhall Library.) *broadside*. 17th March, 1673.

England's passing-bell ; or a poem written soon after the year of the plague, the fire of London, and the Dutch war. By William Gilbert. 4^o. 1675.

London's flames ; being an exact and impartial account of divers informations given in to the Committee of Parliament . . . concerning the dreadful fire of London in the year 1666, and the many other strange fires which have happened since. Together with

- what was said by Mr. Langhorn, now a prisoner, and condemned for the horrid Popish plot, concerning the Great Fire ; wherein is plainly proved that the Papists were the contrivers and actors in the burning of that great and noble city. 4^o *London*, 1679.
- Narrative of the Popish plot and of the burning of London. By Capt. Will^m. Bedloe. f^o *London*, 1679.
- Proclamation for the discovery ... of persons suspected of burning houses in London. *broadside*. *London*, 1679.
- A compendious history of the most remarkable passages of the last fourteen years, with an account of the plot . . . both before and after the Fire of London. 8^o *London*, 1680.
- The address of above twenty thousand apprentices of London to the Lord Mayor, September 2, the day appointed to be observed in commemoration of the burning of that city by Papists, Jesuits, and Tories, 1666 . . . f^o *sh*. *London*, 1681.
- London's flames reviv'd: or, an account of the several informations exhibited to a committee appointed by Parliament, September the 25th, 1666, to enquire into the burning of London . . . 4^o *London*, 1689.
- London's flames set in a true light ; being a true and faithful account of the several informations exhibited to the honourable committee appointed by the Parliament to inquire into the late dreadful burning of the City of London. 8^o *London*, 1712.
- A Protestant monument erected to the immortal glory of the Whiggs and the Dutch : it being a full and satisfactory relation of the late mysterious plot and firing of London ... 4^o *London*, 1713. [Reprinted in Lord Somers's tracts, 4th Collection, Vol. ii, p. 24.]

The burning of London by the Papists; or a memorial to Protestants on the second of September. [By Benjamin Grosvenor, D.D.] 8^o *London*, 1714.

The true Protestant account of the burning of London, or an antidote against the poyson and malignity of a late lying legend, entituled, An account of the burning of London, etc. 8^o *London*, 1720.

An account of the burning the City of London ... published by the special authority of King and Council ... 1666 ... 8^o *London*, 1721.
First published in the *London Gazette*, September 3rd, 1666.

An account of the burning the City of London, as it was publish'd by the special authority of King and Council, in the year 1666; to which is added, the opinion of Dr. Kennet, the late Bishop of Peterborough, as publish'd by his lordship's order, and that of Dr. Eachard, relating thereunto. 3rd ed. 8^o *London*, 1721.

The same. 4th ed. 1729.

An historical narrative of the great and terrible fire of London, September 2nd, 1666, with some parallel cases, and occasional notes. [Section iv treats of the Monument.] 8^o *London*, 1769.

A short description of the fatal and dreadful burning of London, divided into every day and night's progression. By Samuel Wiseman. Sold in Whitefriars-street, near Cripplegate. With the map of London as in its prosperity, by Robert Prick.

4 sheets fol.

SERMONS PREACHED IN COMMEMORATION, OR ON THE ANNIVERSARY,
OF THE GREAT FIRE.

1666. Robert Elborough, on Ezekiel xx, 47.
Nathaniel Hardy, D.D., "Lamentation, mourning, and woe."
William Sandcroft, D.D., "Lex ignea."
1667. Thomas Doolittle, "A rebuke for sin."
William Gearing, on Job xix, 12.
E. Stokes, on 1 Kings xvii, 15.
Samuel Rolle, "The burning of London."
David Stokes, D.D., "The widow of Sarepta."
1669. Christopher Flower, on Malachi iv, 5.
1670. Thomas Brooks, on Isaiah xlii, 24, 25.
1672. Anthony Farindon, B.D., on St. John iv, 14.
1674. Seth Ward, Bishop of Salisbury, on Ecclesiastes xi, 9.
1676. Charles Mason, on 2 Pet. iii, 10, 11.
1677. George Thorpe, B.D., on St. Matthew vii, 12.
1679. Henry Hesketh, on Lamentations iii, 22.
1680. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury.
1681. Gilbert Burnet, Bishop of Salisbury, on Amos iv, 11, 12.
1682. Henry Hesketh, on Lamentations iii, 20, 21.
1682. William Wray, on Ezra iv, 15.
1683. William Hopkins, B.D., on St. John v, 14.
Gilbert Burnet, "The rebellious city destroyed."
1684. Benjamin Calamy, on Isaiah lvii, 21.
1685. Benjamin Calamy, D.D.
1686. John Scott, D.D.
1688. W. Gearing, on Isaiah xxiv, 15.
W. Gearing, on St. Matthew xi, 19.

1694. William Sancroft, Archbishop of Canterbury, on Isaiah xxvi, 9.
 1697. Samuel Prat, D.D.
 1699. William Sherlock, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's.
 1701. Samuel Barton, B.D., on St. John v, 14.
 1704. John Scott, on St. John v, 14.
 1706. Nicholas Brady, on St. John v, 14.
 1707. Paul Lorrain, on Jeremiah v, 3.
 Edward Stillingfleet, D.D., Bishop of Worcester, on Amos iv, 11.
 1710. William Beveridge, Bishop of St. Asaph, on St. John v, 14.
 1711. Benjamin Ibbot, D.D.
 1715. John Evans.
 1717. Jos. Watson, on St. John v, 14.
 1719. William Sherlock, D.D. on Micah vi, 9.
 1727. H. Parker, on Amos iii, 6.
 1740. Samuel Salter, on St. Luke xiii, 1-5.
 1741. William Romaine, M.A.
 1744. J. Doughty, on Psalm cvii, 34.
 John Howe, on Daniel ix., 25.
 1747. Angel Chauncey, D.D., on 1 Corinthians x, 11.
 1748. William Parker, on Isaiah xxvi, 9.
 1750. William Meades, on 1 Corinthians x, 17.
 1756. Thomas Richards, on Isaiah xxvi, 9.
 J. Ross, Bishop of Exeter, on Isaiah xxvi, 9.
 1770. East Apthorp, on Habakkuk iii, 2.
 1776. Benjamin Ibbot, on 11 Peter iii, 11.
 1781. East Apthorp, D.D.
 S. Stennett, on Amos iii, 6.

LIST OF AUTHORITIES.

MANUSCRIPTS.

- British Museum—Harleian MS. 4941, 66E. ; Egerton 2543, f. 211.
- The inscriptions on the sides of the Monument, and a plan of the Fire of London. f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 46 (3 and 5).
- Five volumes of surveys and plans made after the Great Fire, by Messrs. Oliver and Mills, the city surveyors.
f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 38.
- Account of payments for the erection and restoration of the Guildhall, Temple Bar, Monument, and other public buildings of the city after the Great Fire. f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 184.
- Londinum redivivum not to its pristine but to far greater beauty, commodiousness and magnificence. Humbly represented in certain proposals concerning the rebuilding of that famous and antient Metropolis. [By John Evelyn].
f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 94 (5).
- A posting book for y^e collection money for releife of those that have had great losse by y^e lamentable fire within y^e Citty of London and liberties thereof. f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 274.
- An accompt of monies receiued for the impost on coales and [of payments] by orders of the Co^mittee appointed for compensation of ground staked out, 1667-1672.
f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 273.
- A day book for y^e receipts of money for y^e staking out of foundations within the ruins of the Citty of London. 13 May, 1667, to 5 Feb., 1668-9. f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 275.

The second day booke [continuation of the above to 26th September, 1672]. f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 276.

The third day booke [continuation of the above to 28th July, 1696]. f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 277.

A posting booke [for the above account] 1667-1676. f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 278.

An accom^t of what monies received from these persons & places hereunder named being their free "gift" towards reliefe of those persons who were great sufferers by the late sadd fire within y^e City of London, 27 September, 1666—12 June, 1675. Payments of the aforesaid monies 29 September, 1666—11 November, 1679. Payments of the money aforesaid to the severall wards by order of the Lord Major & Bishopp of London, 29 December, 1666—27 February, 1671.

f^o. Guildhall Lib., MS. 271.

Orders of Common Council to pay sums of money to sufferers by the Great Fire, with their receipts endorsed, 1666-1667.

Guildhall Lib., MS. 297.

Orders upon the chamberlain to pay money to the several wards and parishes for the relief of sufferers by the Great Fire, with receipts for the same signed by deputies, members of Common Council, rectors, churchwardens and others.

Guildhall Lib., MS. 298.

An account dated 25th Nov., 1672, of money received toward the relief of sufferers by the Fire of 1666, showing the amount received from each county. Guildhall Lib., MS. 296.

Bills and receipts for work done at the Guildhall, the Sessions House, Newgate, &c., after the Great Fire. [18 Jan. 166⁶ to 19 Sept., 1667.] Guildhall Lib., MS. 323.

An order of Common Council directing the Chamberlain to pay Caius Gabriel Cibber £90 for work and materials expended on the Monument. With receipts for the amount.

Guildhall Lib., MS. 338.

Accounts of payments for the expenses of the Court at Clifford's Inn for determining differences arising out of the Great Fire [26 Feb., 1667 to 26 Jan., 1678]. Guildhall Lib., MS. 360.

The following manuscripts in the Guildhall Library also contain references to the Monument or the Fire of London: MSS. 89, 90 (4), 313, 314-19, 322, 359.

Fire Decrees, 1667-1673. 9 volumes. Records Department, Town Clerk's Office, Guildhall.

PRINTED WORKS.

Calendar of State Papers, Dom. Series, 1666-7, Preface, pp. vi-xiv, and pp. 94-124.

"The Life of Edward, Earl of Clarendon," written by himself, 1759; continuation, pp. 347-355.

Howell's "Complete Collection of State Trials," 1816; vol. vi, coll. 807-866. [Contains numerous extracts from historical writers.]

Malcolm's "Londinium Redivivum," 1807; vol. iv, pp. 35-98.

Stow's "Survey of London," edited by Strype, 1755; vol. i, pp. 279-293, 500-503.

Maitland's "History of London," 1775; vol. i, pp. 432-450, 834-838.

Wilkinson's "Londina Illustrata," 1819; sheet LL, vol. i, No. 3.

- "London and Middlesex," by E. W. Brayley, 1810 ; vol. i, pp. 406-440.
- "History of the Parish of St. Michael, Crooked Lane," by William Herbert, 1831 ; pp. 62-96.
- Bishop Burnet's "History of his own Time," 2nd edition, Oxford, 1833 ; vol. i, pp. 420-427.
- Diary of Samuel Pepys ... with Life and Notes, by Richard, Lord Braybrooke, 4th edition, 1854 ; vol. ii, pp. 439-451.
- "Memoirs illustrative of the Life and Writings of John Evelyn, Esq., F.R.S., comprising his Diary," edited by William Bray, 2nd edition, 1819 ; vol. i, pp. 391-398.
- The City Remembrancer, being historical narratives of the Great Plague at London, 1665 ; Great Fire, 1666 ; and Great Storm, 1703 ... 1769 ; vol. 2, pp. 1-73.
- "Chronicles of London Bridge," by an Antiquary [Richard Thomson], 1827 ; pp. 441-445.
- Gentleman's Magazine, vol. xix, pp. 387-8, 435-7, 535-6 (with plate) ; lx, pt. ii, p. 897 ; lxxxi, pt. i, p. 328 ; lxxxv, pt. ii, pp. 6-7, 230-1 ; lxxxvi, pt. i, pp. 123-4 ; 1831, pt. i, pp. 102-4, 311-315, 492.
- Timbs' "Curiosities of London," new edition, 1868 ; pp. 338-340, 570-1.
- Walford's "Insurance Cyclopædia," 1876 ; vol. iv, pp. 31-43.
- Hone's "Every-day Book," 1831 ; vol. i, coll. 1150-1165.
- Thornbury's "Old and New London" ; vol. i, pp. 565-573.
- "A Night on the Monument" (*Household Words*, 1857, vol. xvii, p. 145), by John Hollingshead. Reprinted in his "Under Bow Bells," 1860, pp. 44-57.

- Wheatley's "London: Past and Present," 1891; vol. ii, pp. 557-559.
- Article on "The Monument," *Chambers' Journal*, Feb., 1892, vol. ix, pp. 55-57.
- Hartridge Collection, Guildhall Library; vol. "The Monument."
- The Graphic*, 12th December, 1891. (Notice of "The Monument," by W. J. Loftie, with illustrations), pp. 691, 704.
- The Daily Graphic*, 15th December, 1891, p. 4.
- Guide de Londres pour les estrangers, by F. Colsoni. 12°. *Londres*, 1693, pp. 26-30. Third edition. 12°. *Londres*, 1710, pp. 35-40.
- Der nach Engelland reisende curieuse Passagier, oder kurtze Beschreibung der Stadt London, by J[ohann] B[asilius] Küchelbeckern, 1726. 8°. *Hanover*, pp. 63-70.
- Délices de la Grand' Bretagne et de l'Irlande, by Jean Beeverell, 1727. 12°. *Leide*. pp. 897-900.
- Observations sur Londres et ses environs, by François Lacombe, 1777. 12°. *Paris*. p. 98.
- Londres et ses environs, ou guide des voyageurs curieux, by M.D.S.D.L., 1790. 12°. *Paris*. pp. 157-162.
- Londres et les Anglais, by J. L. Ferri-de-St. Constant. 8°. *Paris*, 1804. Vol. i, p. 87.
- Description de Londres et de ses édifices, by J. B. Barjaud and C. P. Landon. [With Baugean's view of the Monument.] 8°. *Paris*, 1810, pp. 127-130.
- Une année à Londres, [by A. J. B. Defauconpret], 1819. 8°. *Paris*. pp. 165-172.
- Jaeger's Neuestes Gemälde von London, 1839. 8°. *Hamburg*. Vol. ii, chap. xiii, pp. 202-3.

- Der grosse Brand von London, by J. M. Lappenberg, 1842. 8° *Hamburg*.
- Der Wanderer durch London (by F. W.). 8° *Chemnitz*, 1843, p. 28.
- Un mois à Londres, by Emile Bouchaud. 8° *Paris*, 1851, p. 108.
- Guide-Chaix : Nouveau guide à Londres pour l'Exposition de 1851. 8° *Paris*, 1851, p. 203.
- Guide du voyageur à Londres pendant l'Exposition universelle, by Lake and Richard. 12° *Paris*, 1851, pp. 176-177.
- Guide illustré du voyageur à Londres, by Daubigny and Freeman. [With view.] 12° *Paris* [1851], p. 143.
- Eine Tour nach London u. Paris in 1851, by Dr. F. W. Ghillany. 8° *Nürnberg*, 1853. Vol. i., pp. 127-128.
- Ein Sommer in London, by Theodor Fontane, 1854. 8° *Dessau*. pp. 19-20.
- Londres, dans toute sa gloire. 16° *Londres*, 1862, p. 100.
- Un mois en Angleterre. 8° *Bruxelles*, 1862, p. 59.
- Londres : Voyage à cette capitale et ses environs by Albert Montémont. 8° *Paris*, pp. 69-70.
- Voyage à Londres, by M. l'Abbé Robert. 8° *Limoges*, pp. 82-83.





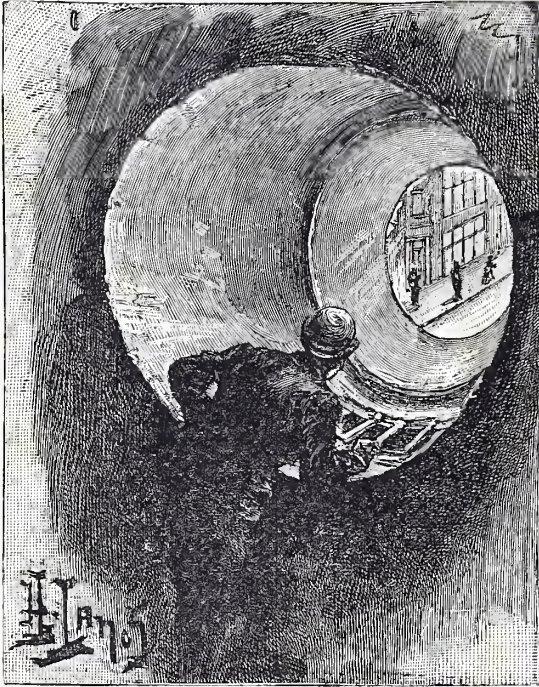
INDEX.

- Addison, Joseph, visit to Monument, 46, 48.
Albemarle, Duke of, assistance during Fire, 60, 66.
Ames, Joseph, letter describing Fire, 64, 65.
Anchor and Cable, a shop sign, 43.
Anniversary Service in commemoration of the Great Fire, 32, 81-83.
Arnott, Samuel, Keeper of the Monument, 55.
Authorities for the history of the Monument and the Great Fire, 111-116.
Balaam, fishmonger, of Monument Yard, 41.
Bibliography of the Fire of London, 101-108.
Bibliography of the Monument, 99-100.
Black Spread Eagle, a shop sign, 44.
Bleaden, John, Keeper of the Monument, 55.
Bludworth, Sir Thomas, Lord Mayor, conduct during the Fire, 67, 73, 74; biographical notice, 74, *note*.
Bouchaud, Emile, criticism upon the Monument, 51.
Boy at Pye Corner, 69.
Brookes, observations on the hour of outbreak of the Fire, 78.
Buckingham, Duke of, letter describing the Fire, 63, 64.
Burnett, Bishop, on the Fire, 30, *note*.
Cage of Monument, why erected, 54.
Chapman, Charles, Keeper of the Monument, 55.
Charles II, represented in Cibber's allegorical sculpture, 26; praised by Dryden, 71; exertions during the Fire, 57-62, 73, 75.
Cibber, Caius Gabriel, sculptor, 18; payments to, 19, 20; description of his sculpture, 25; biographical notice, 26-28.
City Lands Committee, superintend erection of Monument, 15; their authority over the building, 56.
Coal-tax, levied to defray the cost of erecting Monument, churches etc., 14, 32, 85.
Cooper, Jane, suicide from Monument, 54.
Cradock, John, suicide from Monument, 54.
Craven, Earl of, assistance during Fire, 58.
Defaconpret, A. J. B., critical remarks on Monument, 49.
Defoe, Daniel, allusion to Monument, 16.
Dryden, John, poetical description of Fire, 69-73.
Evelyn, John, remarks on Monument, 44; tribute to Wren, 44; eulogy of Charles II and the Duke of York, 71, *note*; plan for re-building London after the Fire, 86-87.
Fast, public, after Fire, 84.
Fire engines of the 17th century, 75.
Fire of London, loss of life in, 30, *note*; Monument erected to commemorate, 36; attributed to Papists, 36; additional inscriptions to that effect placed on Monument, 37, and on the house where Fire began, 38; anti-Catholic resolution of House of Commons as to, 40; official record in the *London Gazette*, 57-62; descriptive contemporary letter from the Duke of Buckingham 63-64; from Joseph Ames, 64-65; from John Rushworth, 65-67; other contemporary letters noted, 67; Hubert's confession, 68; report of House of Commons Committee on its origin, 68; attributed to Government, 68; ended at Pye Corner, 69; attributed to gluttony, 69; Dryden's description, 69-73; Pepys' account, 73-74; exertions of the King and the Duke of York, 75 chief causes of its rapid spread, 75; account by

- Ford, 75-76; commencement in Pudding Lane, 16, 76, 77; fatality of the year of its occurrence 78; the month, 78; the hour, 78; Wiseman's account, 78-79; Tabour's narrative, 79; statistics of its ravages, 79; estimated damage, 30, 35, 79; shelter and relief for the sufferers, 80, 85; special Court to determine disputes arising from, 32, 80-81; portraits of the Judges ordered by the Corporation, 81; list of the Judges, 81; religious observance of its anniversary, 81; state attendance at St. Paul's Cathedral, 82; special form of prayer, 82; anniversary sermons, 83, 109-110; Rolle's reflections, 83; measures for re-building the City, 84-87; plans by Wren and Evelyn rejected, 86-87; prophecies of the Fire, 87; the event a blessing to the City, 87; improved health after, 88; promotion of fire insurance, 88; commemorative medal, 89; original views, 90-91; maps and prints, 91-95; bibliography, 101-108.
- Fish Street, described by Stow, 13; its former importance, 13, 14; widened after Fire, 86.
- Fontane, T., satirical notice of the Urn, 50-51.
- Ford, Dr., poetical account of Fire, 75-76.
- Gale, Dr., author of inscriptions on Monument, 28; services recognized by the Court of Aldermen, 28.
- Gratrix, Ralph, surveyor, 79.
- Goldsmith, Oliver, resident in Monument Yard, 51.
- Gostelo, Walter, prophecy of the Fire, 87.
- Grasshopper, a shop sign, 44.
- Green, William, falls from Monument, 54.
- Harrow Inn, 44.
- Hawes, Robert, suicide from Monument 54.
- Height of Monument, 16; comparison between, and chief columns of the world, 17.
- Hollingshead, John, night on Monument, 51-52.
- Hubert, confesses having originated the Fire, 38; probably of weak intellect, 68.
- Inscription on the house where the Fire began, 37-38; its removal, 41.
- Inscriptions on the Monument, composed by Dr Gale, 28; Latin inscription on the north side, 29; translation, 30; Latin inscription on the south side, 31; translation, 32; Latin inscription, with translation, on the east side, 33; Wren's unaccepted inscription, 34; translation, 35; history of the anti-Catholic inscriptions, 36-41; Dr. Littleton's singular inscription, 41; anti-Catholic inscription referred to by Addison, 48; and Lacombe, 49.
- Kalm, account of visit to Monument, 49.
- Keepers of the Monument, 55; office abolished, 56.
- King's Head, a shop sign, 43.
- Lacombe, remarks on the additional inscription, 49.
- Leander, suicide from Monument, 54.
- Lely, Sir Peter, commissioned to paint portraits of the judges, 81.
- Levi, Lyon, suicide from monument, 54.
- Littleton, Dr. Adam, inscription for Monument, 33, 41.
- London, as seen from Monument at night, 51-52; re-building of, after the Fire, 14, 32, 35-36, 84-87.
- Maitland, on loss of life in Fire, 30, *note*; on the health of the City after the Fire, 88.
- Maps and prints of the Fire of London, 91-95.
- Medal commemorative of the Fire, 89-90.
- Milne, Robert, author of Wren's epitaph, 24.
- Mitre, a shop sign, 44.
- Monument, Act of Parliament for building, 14; cost provided by Coal Tax, 14, 32; designed by Wren, 14; his original proposal, 15; letter accompanying his designs, 15-16; dimensions, 16; comparison with other columns, 17-18; staircase, 18; built of Portland stone, 18; construction, 18-22; sculptures by Cibber and Pierce, 18; model of scaffolding, 18; payments for the work, 12-21; solid contents of fabric, 21-22; sculpture described, 25-26; inscriptions with translations, 28-33; Wren's unaccepted inscription, 34; translation, 35-36; anti-Catholic additional inscription, 36-41; Dr. Littleton's inscription, 41; proposed use for scientific experiments, 44; Sir Dudley North's ascent, 44; feats of agility by a waiter, 45; a sailor's foolhardy descent, 45; imitated by a boy, 45; Ned Ward's satirical description, 46; Addison's description of his visit, 46, 48; Lacombe's remarks on the additional inscription, 49; criticised by St. Constant, 49; by Defauconpret, 49; by Fontane, 50-51; by Bouchaud, 51; Hollingshead's experiences at night, 51-52; illuminated with portable gas, 52; a burlesque advertisement, 52; a mouse domiciled in, 52, 54; used at the Duke of Wellington's funeral, 54; suicides from, 54; cage erected, 54; repairs and embellishments, 54-55; present sound condition, 55; statistics of visitors, 55; list of keepers, 55; under the authority of City Lands Committee, 56; list of views, 95-99; bibliography, 99-100.

- Monument Yard, 14; Goldsmith's residence, 51.
- Moore, Jonas, surveyor, 79.
- Mouse in the Monument, its life and adventures, 52, 54.
- Moyes, Margaret, suicide from Monument, 54.
- North, Sir Dudley, ascent of Monument, 44.
- Oates, Titus, pretended Popish plot, 36; satirised by Ward, 39-40.
- Paintings, original, of the Fire, 90-91.
- Pedestal of Monument, sculptures and inscriptions on, 25-41.
- Pennant, quoted, 69.
- Pepys, Samuel, at the Sun tavern, 43; account of Fire, 73-74; estimate of damage, 79.
- Pierce, Edward, sculptor, dragons carved by, 18.
- Pope, famous lines on Monument, 41.
- Predictions of the Great Fire, 87.
- Prints and maps of Fire, 91-95; of Monument, 95-99.
- Pudding Lane, outbreak of Fire in, 16, 58, 64, 76; locality described, 77.
- Pye Corner, Fire ended at, 69.
- Re-building of City after Fire, 14, 32, 35-36, 84-87.
- Rolle, Samuel, remarks on the year 1666, 78; reflections on Fire, 83; on widening of New Fish Street, 86.
- Rushworth, John, letter describing Fire, 65-67.
- St. Constant, Ferri de, criticism of site of Monument, 49.
- St. Margaret's church, New Fish Street, 14.
- Sculpture on pedestal described, 25-26, 84.
- Sermons commemorative of Great Fire, 82, 83; list of, 109, 110.
- Sharp, "Conversation," quoted, 51.
- Shipton, Mother, prophecy of Fire, 87.
- Steps in Monument, number of, 18.
- Suicides from Monument, list of, 54.
- Sun tavern, referred to by Pepys, 43.
- Swan and bridge, a shop sign, 43-44.
- Tabor, John, poetical description of Fire, 79.
- Urn, or vase of Monument, height of, 15; its form criticised, 50-51.
- Views of Fire, 90-95.
- Visitors to Monument, number of 55.
- Walford, Cornelius, on the advantages resulting from the Great Fire, 88.
- Ward, Edward, satirical account of Monument, 46.
- Ward, Sir Patience, Lord Mayor of London, directs the placing of the anti-Catholic inscriptions on Monument, 39; biographical notice, 39; satirised by Thomas Ward, 40.
- Ward, Thomas, poetical reference to Titus Oates and Sir Patience Ward, 39-40.
- Waterhouse, Edward, on fatal month of September, 78.
- Wellington, Duke of, use of Monument at his funeral, 54.
- Williamson, Secretary of State, memorandum on Fire, 68.
- Wiseman, on the burning of London, 78-79.
- Woodward, Thomas, Keeper of the Monument, 55, 56.
- Wren, Sir Christopher, architect of Monument, 14; his first proposal, 15; letter on various designs for summit, 15-16; biographical account, 22-23; his original intention to utilise Monument for scientific experiments, 44; entrusted with re-building of City, 86; plan of re-construction, 23, 86; its rejection, 87.
- Wright, Michael, commissioned to paint portraits of the Judges, 81.
- York, James, Duke of, represented in Cibber's allegorical sculpture, 26; eulogised by Evelyn, 71; exertions and assistance during Fire, 58, 59, 60, 67, 73, 74, 75.

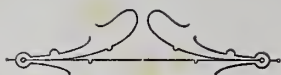




FISH STREET HILL AS SEEN FROM THE MONUMENT.

From the "Graphic," by kind permission.





THE MONUMENT

IS

OPEN TO THE PUBLIC DAILY

FROM

9 a.m. to 6 p.m. from March 31st to September 30th,

AND FROM

9 a.m. to 4 p.m. from October 1st to March 30th.



ADMITTANCE, 3d. EACH PERSON.



Entrance in Monument Yard.



GETTY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

